

INTERNAL BARRIERS TO SMALL BUSINESS  
DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF  
INDEPENDENT RETAILERS FROM THE  
EDINBURGH SOUTH ASIAN COMMUNITY

RITA WELSH

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

QUEEN MARGARET UNIVERSITY

2009



## **Abstract**

This thesis presents a conceptual model of the nature/interaction of internal factors shaping individual ethnic minority micro-enterprise owners' response to external threats in the business environment aimed to assist business support agencies developing/targeting appropriate help/support to enhance business development.

Focus of the empirical research is Edinburgh Pakistani community owned convenience stores, as the failure to survive will adversely affect this community disproportionately reliant on the c-store sector and provision of related local social and economic benefits.

The intangible influences on business approaches (education, experience, access to finance/business advice, personal values, goals, motivation, role models and cultural background) demands a qualitative, postmodern constructivist methodology, utilising social science adaptive grounded theory methods for sample selection, data collection/management, and theory generation.

The initial conceptual model emerging from constant comparison analysis of qualitative interviews with a theoretical sample of 21 Edinburgh Pakistani c-store owners indicates key internal factors as start-up motivation, cultural influences and changing aspirations, awareness and acknowledgement of these influences on predominantly reactive responses to trading challenges varying widely.

Comparison with wider ethnic minority/micro-enterprise research develops a conceptual model of the interacting internal barriers to minority community micro-enterprise development. Within any minority community and/or micro-business sector the owner's response to changing business environments is shaped by three factors: motivation for self-employment and changing sojourner mentality; cultural influences and depth of social embeddedness; and generational aspirations and degree of economic embeddedness in the mainstream community.

By taking the complex, multi-layered, individual, dynamic nature of these factors into account when developing and marketing business advice, support agencies can design and deliver products and services relevant to specific needs and resource availability. Raising owners' awareness of the factors influencing business decisions will increase the potential for micro-enterprises to react proactively to external threats, with related benefits to individual owners, minority populations and the local community.

**Key words:** UK South Asian, micro-business development, internal barriers, culture, motivation, social and economic embeddedness, generational aspirations.



## **Acknowledgements**

This research would not have been possible without the opportunities and funding provided by Queen Margaret University and the academic and administrative support from members of the School of Business, Enterprise and Management throughout the project in accessing resources, complying with regulations and producing the thesis.

In particular, thanks go to both the continued and valued academic direction and supervision and personal support willingly given by Richard Bent, Claire Seaman and Arthur Ingram, and the understanding shown by the Research Degrees Committee in allowing the extended study period necessitated by the author's changing personal circumstances.

On a personal level it is also important to stress the role of the encouragement of Ian, Peg and Jennifer as an essential element in completing the research process.

Last, and by no means least, thanks go to the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce and Enterprise Ethnic Enterprise Centre, Pakistani community leaders and, most importantly, the co-operation of convenience store owners willing to give their time for interviews without whom the aims of the project would not have been achievable.



# CONTENTS

<b>Abstract</b>	i
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	iii
<b>Contents</b>	v
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	1
1.1 Definition of terms	5
1.2 Rationale, questions, aims, outcomes and approaches	6
1.3 Research paradigm	11
1.4 Overview of methodology and methods	16
1.5 Content of thesis	20
<b>Chapter 2: Methodology and Methods</b>	23
2.1 Qualitative, adaptive grounded theory and business research	25
2.2 Research process and design	31
2.3 Development of sensitising concepts and interview schedule	34
2.4 Research population, sampling methods and final research sample	36
2.5 Data collection, management and analysis	43
2.6 Limitations – internal and external validity and reliability	52
2.7 Summary	58
<b>Chapter 3: Initial Literature Review</b>	59
3.1 Broad sensitising concepts	62
3.2 Small and micro business theory	65
3.3 Convenience store and small, independent retail businesses in Scotland	73
3.4 Internal influences on small and micro business activity	76
3.5 Ethnic minority business research	82
3.6 Scottish South Asian SMEs	96
3.7 Additional topics emerging during data collection/analysis process	98
3.8 Summary of sensitising topics	101
3.9 Development of interview schedule	105

<b>Chapter 4: Fieldwork Findings</b>	109
4.1 Personal background	112
4.2 Business background	115
4.3 Motivational factors	119
4.4 Individual perceptions	136
4.5 Ethnic strategies	145
4.6 Generational issues and succession planning	151
4.7 Attitude to symbol groups	158
4.8 Follow-up observational visit	161
4.9 Key emerging themes	161
 <b>Chapter 5: Emerging Themes</b>	 165
5.1 Trading environment	169
5.2 Trading approach	175
5.3 Summary and initial conceptual model	189
 <b>Chapter 6: Second Stage Literature Review</b>	 191
6.1 Minority ethnic businesses	193
6.2 Family business and succession planning	202
6.3 Ethnicity, generations, aspirations and gender	209
6.4 Summary	214
 <b>Chapter 7: Theory Development</b>	 217
7.1 Theory development	219
7.2 Extant theory – theoretical model and interview topics	221
7.3 Emergent data – themes	223
7.4 Adaptive theory – initial conceptual model	224
7.5 Extant theory – factors clarified	226
7.6 Emergent data – developed conceptual model	227
7.7 Adaptive theory – refined conceptual model and new theory	228



<b>Chapter 8: Conclusion</b>	233
8.1 The research	235
8.2 Conclusions	238
8.3 Recommendations	241
8.4 Final comment	243
 <b>References</b>	 245
 <b>Appendices</b>	 257
Appendix 1: Sample transcript: Interview 11	259
Appendix 2: Sample initial analysis: Interview 11	269
Appendix 3: Thumbnail sketches of final research sample	275
Appendix 4: Summary of findings for interview topics	297
Appendix 5: Publications	339
 <b>List of figures</b>	
2.1: Relations between extant theory, emergent data and adaptive theory	29
2.2: A qualitative research process	33
2.3: Map showing concentrations of ethnic minority businesses, initial selected area and final theoretical sample location	41
2.4: Thumbnail sketch of Interview 11	51
3.1: External and internal factors affecting small and micro businesses	62
3.2: An interactive model of ethnic business development	85
3.3: Factors influencing small minority community small business strategies	106
3.4: Interview topics	107
5.1: Factors in Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store involvement	176
5.2: Components of individual motivation for self-employment	182
5.3: Internal factors influencing Edinburgh Pakistani community owned c- store development	190
6.1: Issues impacting on minority ethnic business approaches	215
7.1: Factors influencing Edinburgh micro-minority community micro- enterprise development	228

7.2: Conceptual model of internal factors influencing minority community micro-enterprise development	230
8.1 Conceptual model for development of minority community micro-enterprise support	241

### **List of tables**

2.1: Final research sample	42
2.2: Initial coding from theory – Interview topic 5: Ethnic strategies	49
2.3: Expanded coding - Interview Topic 5e: Business assistance	49
2.4: Interview 1-5 Responses to expanded code 5e – expect	50
5.1: Extremes of business strategies emerging in Edinburgh Pakistani community owned c-stores	181
A 4.1 Topic 1 Personal background – summary by interview	299
A 4.2.1 Topic 2 Business background – summary by interview part 1	302
A 4.2.2 Topic 2 Business background – summary by interview part 2	305
A 4.3.1 Topic 3 Motivation – summary by interview part 1	307
A 4.3.2 Topic 3 Motivation – summary by interview part 2	310
A 4.3.3 Topic 3 Motivation – summary by interview part 3	312
A 4.4.1 Topic 4 Individual perceptions – summary by interview part 1	314
A 4.4.2 Topic 4 Individual perceptions – summary by interview part 2	318
A 4.5.1 Topic 5 Ethnic strategies – summary by interview part 1	322
A 4.5.2 Topic 5 Ethnic strategies – summary by interview part 2	327
A 4.6 Topic +1 Generational issues – summary by interview	332
A 4.7 Topic +1 Attitude to symbol group – summary by interview	335
A 4.8 Follow-up visit – summary by interview	337

# **Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION**

## **1.1 Definition of terms**

## **1.2 Rationale, questions, aims, outcomes and approaches**

Rationale for study and broad research questions

Research aims, outcomes, themes and approaches

## **1.3 Research paradigm**

Research paradigm

Implications for ontology, epistemology and methodology

## **1.4 Overview of methodology and methods**

Qualitative methodologies

Adaptive grounded theory methods

## **1.5 Content of thesis**



Long described as a nation of shopkeepers, small, local, convenience stores are a traditional feature of the British retail scene. Despite the changing nature of the high street due to changing consumer behaviour and a diversity of external business and economic factors, there is still a role for small, independent shops and convenience stores at both social and economic levels (Baron, Harris, Leaver and Oldfield, 2001; Fitch, 2004). It is suggested that business success is dependent on a combination of internal, external and cultural factors (Storey, 1994; Basu and Goswami, 1999; Dhaliwal and Kangis, 2006). While external changes impact on the future of all businesses, the failure of the convenience store sector is of concern due to potential negative impact on local communities, both residents and business owners. The wider social implications are also important, as an estimated two-thirds of all small, local shops and convenience stores in Britain are owned by members of minority communities (Gidoomal, 1997; Chaudhry and Crick, 2003). This vital role of small and micro enterprises is acknowledged in the wealth of support available. However, despite an increased focus on the issue, it appears much remains ineffective and little used (Culkin and Smith, 2000; Dassler, Seaman, Bent, Lamb and Mateer, 2007; Emslie and Bent, 2007; Hussain and Matlay, 2007). This is of particular concern in Edinburgh due to more than half of the convenience stores in the city being owned by members of the Pakistani community, accounting for less than 1% of the city population (Akram, 2000; Scottish Executive, 2004), with a limited awareness of business owners to the threats facing the sector (Bent, Seaman, Wallace and Kerr, 1999; Deakins, Ishaq, Smallbone, Whittam and Wyper, 2005; Emslie and Bent, 2007).

The research presented by this thesis builds on the initial research into South Asian community convenience store ownership in Edinburgh (Bent et al. 1999) and small business research conducted in to economic activity in larger ethnic minority communities, predominantly in the United Kingdom by, among others, Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990; Ram, 1994; Deakins, 1999, Crick and Chaudhry, 2000; Dhaliwal, 2000; Barrett, Jones and McEvoy, 2001. Since the commencement of the study, additional insights into minority ethnic business activities have been provided by authors including, but not exclusively, Chaudhry and Crick, 2003; Basu, 2004;

Chaudhry and Crick, 2004; Abdullah, 2005; Dhaliwal and Adcroft, 2005; Deakins et. al, 2005; Smallbone, Bertolli and Ekanem, 2005; Dhaliwal and Kangis, 2006; Emslie and Bent, 2007; Hussain and Matlay, 2007; Okonta and Pandya, 2007; Altinay and Altinay, 2008; Bagwell, 2008; Dhaliwal and Gray, 2008; McPherson, 2008; Rusinovic, 2008.

The study aims to identify and explore the interaction of the internal and cultural factors influencing the development of convenience stores owned by members of the Edinburgh South Asian community in order to present a range of factors to be considered when designing and targeting appropriate business support and assistance to an essential sector and a very small minority community.

The initial findings that emerge from the study are the individual mix of three main factors: personal and family business aims, motivation and expectations on business start up; changing aspirations and motivation for continued personal and next generational self-employment in the convenience store sector; and the influence on business practice of wider family, community and cultural factors.

The second stage literature addressing these issues in depth and adding more recent theoretical insights into ethnic minority business activity develops understanding of these factors, focusing on changing sojourner mentality and degrees of social and economic embeddedness of migrant community members. While these factors affect all businesses, the importance and urgency of impact on business development varies with the extent to which individual business owners are aware of the issues and acknowledge the potential and actual impact on strategies for economic activity and measures of success.

This introductory chapter defines terms used in the thesis, expands the rationale for the research, clarifies the aims and objectives of the study, and indicates the addition to knowledge this will make. It establishes the epistemological stance taken, presents an overview of the research methodology and methods adopted, summarises key findings, and outlines the content of the thesis and fieldwork.

## **1.1 Definition of terms**

Although small, independent grocery, off-license, newsagents and similar stores are a familiar feature of the British retail environment, there is no one, simple definition of a convenience store. However, for the purposes of this study, the definition used is that of Baron et al. (2001) that a c-store is:

based loosely on store size of less than 3000 square feet, and a location close to customers' homes, within the case of non-specialist independents, having a product range that is wide and shallow. (Baron et al. 2001: 396)

This grouping includes non-affiliated retailers and symbol group members as well as specialists such as CTNs and grocers that are “a centre for social and community activity” (Baron et al., 2001: 412).

These businesses are, by nature, micro enterprises, defined by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) as having less than 10 employees (Bank of England, 2000), many employing only the owner and members of their immediate family. This economic element is included in the Smith and Sparks (2000) definition of a micro retail enterprise used for this study that a small or micro retail enterprise is:

a retail establishment of any form of organization (but most commonly independently owned) with an annual sales figure of less than approximately £175,000, and having fewer than 10 FTE employees. (Smith and Sparks, 2000:207)

In the United Kingdom (UK) the majority of such enterprises are owned by members of the ethnic minority communities, in particular by those of South Asian origin (Gidoomal, 1997; Chaudhry and Crick, 2003).

The term ‘South Asian’ is used throughout the thesis to describe those who regard themselves as having family origins in the Indian sub-continent, primarily India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (Gidoomal, 1997; Office for National Statistics, 2001). The term Pakistani, therefore, applies to members of the UK population describing themselves as having direct or indirect origins in Pakistan.

As discussed in Chapter 3: Initial Literature Review, the UK and Edinburgh South Asian and Pakistani communities are now well established. England was the predominant location for the first wave of migration from the South Asian sub-

continent, with subsequent settlements patterns and latter generations spreading throughout the UK. For the purposes of this study the generations of migrants are defined as follows:

1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants: the first in the family to come to the UK.

2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants: born in the UK to 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants or migrated from the sub-continent as children to join 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrant parents or parents of 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants.

3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrants: born in the UK to 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants.

Many migrant families have been in self-employment for more than one generation. Again, for the purposes of this study, business generations are defined as follows, the definitions applying equally to male and female enterprise owners:

1<sup>st</sup> generation businessman: 1<sup>st</sup> generation in family to own business.

2<sup>nd</sup> generation businessman: 2<sup>nd</sup> generation to own same or other businesses.

## **1.2 Rationale, questions, aims, outcomes and approaches**

This section presents the rationale for the research, introduces the topics and issues discussed in detail in Chapter 3: Initial Literature Review and the emerging themes reviewed in Chapter 6: Second Stage Literature Review, establishes the aims and intended outcomes of the study and the broad research questions, and clarifies the research themes, topics and approaches.

### **Rationale for study and broad research questions**

As noted above, this research builds on an initial study into Edinburgh South Asian owned convenience stores that indicated a limited proactive response by business owners to the threats to business success of changing retail environments (Bent et al., 1999).

Small, independent retail outlets and convenience stores have long been a feature of the British economy and have, in recent years, provided an opportunity for self-employment and entrepreneurial activity for the growing ethnic minority communities throughout the country (Gidoomal, 1997; Chaudhry and Crick, 2003;



Basu, 2004; Deakins et al., 2005). In addition to this economic role, convenience stores play an important social role, providing a focus for communities and providing easy access to goods and services (Baron et al., 2001). These micro businesses, in common with all small and micro enterprises, are subject to external changes in their trading environment from a combination of political, economic, socio-cultural and technological (PEST) factors. Increasing involvement of supermarket chains in both mega-stores and small convenience branches, and out of town retail park developments have combined with altering consumer demands and demographic factors to threaten the survival of such enterprises. A widespread failure to respond to these threats has both social and economic implications for both the population served by convenience stores and the communities reliant on such enterprises for economic activity. Responses to these changes are associated with internal factors, primarily the business and personal background, motivation, access to resources, and cultural and traditional influences of the individual business owner. It is also suggested that these factors are closely linked to ethnicity as expressed in family and community role models, and affected by tradition, religion and individual perceptions of alternative options for economic activity (Bolton, 1971; Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990; Storey, 1994; Bridge, O'Neill and Cromie, 1998; Deakins, 1999; Anderson, Drakopoulou-Dodd and Scott, 2000; Dhaliwal, 2000; Smith and Sparks, 2000; Baron et al., 2001; Spence and Rutherford, 2001; Basu, 2004; Abdullah, 2005; Deakins et al., 2005; Dhaliwal and Adcroft, 2005; van Gelderen and Jansen, 2006; Dhaliwal and Kangis, 2006; SouthAsiaNet, 2006; Kirkwood, 2007; Altinay and Altinay, 2008; Bagwell, 2008; Dhaliwal, 2008; Rusinovic, 2008)

While the continued decline of the sector will have an adverse effect on the community served by the individual convenience stores, the negative impact of business closure will be particularly hard on ethnic minority communities, as it is estimated that approximately two thirds of small local shops and convenience stores are owned by members of South Asian minority communities (Gidoomal, 1997; Chaudhry and Crick, 2003). This is particularly relevant to the Edinburgh Pakistani community, which, despite accounting for less than one percent of the City population, is estimated to be involved in ownership of more than half the

convenience stores in the area (Bent et al., 1999; Akram, 2000; Scottish Executive, 2004).

The economic importance of small and micro business activity is recognised in the plethora of both public and private sector business support initiatives developed, for example: Government backed small business start up schemes, Chamber of Commerce activities, further and higher education courses and qualifications, and a wide range of bank and financial institution assistance. However, there is evidence of a lack of awareness of the assistance available to business owners and the related very low levels of uptake of this help and advice, possibly due to a perception by minority ethnic business (MEB) owners of it being irrelevant, inappropriate and inaccessible. It is suggested that by taking into account the differing experiences of ethnic minority businesses, business support providers will be able to develop products perceived as needed, appropriate and accessible, thus improving both the economic and social outlook for the ethnic minority community and the wider population (Lauder, Boocock and Presley, 1994; Deakins, Majmudar and Paddison, 1997; Bridge, O'Neill and Cromie, 1998; Bent et al., 1999; Deakins, 1999; Ram, Sanghera, Kahn and Abbas, 1999; Crick and Chaudhry, 2000; British Bankers' Association, 2002; Dhaliwal and Adcroft, 2005; Dassler, Seaman, Bent, Lamb and Mateer, 2007; Emslie and Bent, 2007; Hussain and Matlay, 2007).

Small business research has explored the presence of, and interaction between, this range of factors in large and medium sized ethnic minority communities, focusing predominantly on those of South Asian origin. Research into business practice within large minority communities suggests that ethnic business strategies emerge to make best use of the opportunities and resources available. These strategies include a combination of opportunity structures (market conditions and access to ownership) and group characteristics (blocked mobility, aspiration levels and family and community resources) (Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990). There is evidence of a strong reliance on family and community business and social networks in large minority communities that influences the competitive stance taken by individual business owners (Ram, 1994; Dyer and Ross, 2000; Ram, Abbas, Sanghera and Hillin, 2000; Chaudhry and Crick, 2003; Ibrahim, McGuire, Soufani and Poutziouris, 2004; Altinay and Altinay, 2008). In addition, Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri

(2000), Deakins et al. (2005) and Emslie and Bent (2007) suggest that this reliance on community networks influences the up-take of business advice and support. However, recent studies suggest that the influence of these factors on second and third generation migrants and business owners is changing (Dhaliwal, 2000; Unis and Ingram, 2003; Ibrahim et al., 2004; Poutziouris, Steier and Smyrnios, 2004; Abdullah, 2005; Deakins et al., 2005; Dhaliwal and Kangis, 2006).

Research into business activity in smaller, more socially and economically embedded communities indicates that as levels of embeddedness increase, business approaches are more in line with that of the main stream community and less reliant on ethnic strategies (Barrett, Jones and McEvoy, 2001; Chaudhry and Crick, 2003; Deakins et al., 2005). This supports the findings of Deakins, Majmudar and Paddison (1997), Dhaliwal and Adcroft (2005), Hussain and Matlay (2007), Okonta and Pandya (2007) and Altinay and Altinay (2008), among others, that smaller ethnic minority communities will develop strategies similar to those of mainstream community enterprises. However, to date, little published research has examined small minority communities with a disproportionately high involvement in a sector particular subject to rapidly changing sectoral, economic and socio-cultural factors; the situation facing Edinburgh Pakistani community convenience store owners.

It is this gap in understanding that this research and its fieldwork aims to address, the basic questions guiding the research being:

What personal, individual and collective factors influence small and micro business activity?

What factors shape Edinburgh Pakistani micro-community micro-retail, c-store start-up, business approach and continued involvement?

How do these ranges of factors interact?

What lessons can be learned by business support providers to overcome internal barriers to small business development?

### **Research aims, outcomes, themes and approaches**

The overall aim of this study is to cast light upon the range and interaction of internal factors that influence the development of convenience stores owned by members of the Edinburgh Pakistani community. This is a relatively under-researched area of investigation, and hence has the value of identifying the role and interaction of emerging key features of the individual ethnic minority community micro business owner in the formation of business strategy.

As Creswell (1998), Haralambos and Holborn (2000) and Lincoln and Guba (1985; 2003) suggest, exploring similar research issues in different settings can provide insights useful in extending knowledge and understanding of a particular phenomenon.

The study uses a review of existing research to identify factors influencing small business ownership activity in South Asian and other ethnic minority communities in the UK and elsewhere. This process allows a conceptual model of the potential influences on individual business owners to be developed, providing a basis for the fieldwork phase of the study. Empirical data collection then questions the relevance of these issues to the experience of convenience store owners within the Edinburgh Pakistani community. Analysis of the data generated in conversations with the theoretically selected sample of 21 convenience store owners permits emergent research findings to be compared with existing theory of micro retail and ethnic minority community business behaviour. In addition, the research also identifies additional factors perceived as influencing approaches to business adopted among the target population not previously recognised or acknowledged. Combining the range of emergent research findings allows this thesis to present a conceptual model of the internal barriers to micro retail business development in a micro ethnic minority community.

Although not necessarily generalisable across a wider ethnic minority or micro business population, this academic, conceptual outcome of the research may assist those designing and targeting business advice and support. Further academic research using the conceptual model is needed to develop a way in which to quantify these factors, and their relative influence and importance to individual business owners' experience and support needs. Then, by incorporating an awareness of the role

played by the identified key features of the individual business owner in business support materials, such assistance may become more appropriate, accessible and perceived as relevant; improving opportunities for continual involvement in the sector and thus playing a role in reducing the economic and social impacts associated with the decline of the inner city small retail sector.

The above aims and intended outcomes give structure and shape to the research and this thesis, the themes and topics explored in the literature review and empirical stages of falling into the following groupings:

- Deductive identification of the theoretical range of personal, individual and collective factors influencing ethnic minority micro business activity.
- Inductive exploration of empirical factors affecting Edinburgh Pakistani community members' micro-retail c-store business start-up and continued involvement.
- Inductive examination of similarities and differences in these ranges of factors.
- Deductive identification of theories underpinning the emerging nature of, and potential barriers to, Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store involvement.
- Conceptualisation of the interdependent and interactive internal factors relevant to individual small business development within the Edinburgh ethnic minority community micro retail sector.
- Presentation of recommendations for public and private sector business support providers to facilitate and/or improve the design, targeting and uptake of appropriate assistance.

### **1.3 Research paradigm**

It is suggested that, before embarking on a specific academic research, it is necessary for the researcher to identify their personal understanding of the nature of knowledge as this will influence the methods adopted in that particular study (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000). The following sections identify the research paradigm adopted, raise the implications for ontology, epistemology and methodology this presents, and select an appropriate methodology used in the study.

### **Research paradigm**

This study aims to identify internal factors and their interaction in influencing business development by Edinburgh South Asian convenience store owners. That is, the study has the aim of “understanding the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it” (Schwandt, 1998: 221). According to the literature (Chapter 3), these are intangible personal issues, including motivation, experience, and ethnicity, and it is the impact on micro business activity made by individual perceptions of these socio-economic and cultural issues that the study aims to identify.

Initial attempts to understand the working of societies and the resulting development of the social sciences adopted similar naturalistic approaches to those of the physical sciences. In this, knowledge of a particular subject is increased by creating a hypothesis of the possible outcome of a clearly defined set of circumstances and gathering quantifiable data to test the accuracy or otherwise of this theory (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000). The positivist movement that developed during the nineteenth century was guided by the work of the founding fathers of social research, Comte and Durkheim. Positivists claimed that scientific study of society could “be confined to collecting information about phenomena that can be objectively observed and classified” (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000: 966). The feelings, emotions and internal meanings of individuals were unimportant as they could not be observed or measured. Belief systems, customs and social institutions were to be considered in the same way as objects and events in the natural world. This understanding developed to acknowledge that society is directed by social facts comprising collective beliefs, values and laws that can be classified in an objective manner. By gathering statistical data and searching for correlation between these social facts the relative strengths of these aspects of society can be established.

The statistical patterns that emerge from this mainly inductive, scientific approach allows theories to be developed and tested against other sets of data to discover laws of human behaviour (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000). Only phenomena that are observable can be warranted as knowledge. Thus feelings and subjective

experiences, which cannot be directly measured by observation or with the aid of instruments, have no value (Bryman, 1988).

In the early twentieth century, modernist social scientists questioned the permanence attributed to laws of human behaviour attributed to them by positivists. Popper (1959 in Haralambos and Holborn, 2000) suggested that, in order to test theories as rigorously as possible, a deductive approach should be taken to search for evidence that disproves or falsifies the closely defined hypotheses and predictions formulated. In the natural sciences this can be achieved by experiments in controlled environments. Social theories can only be tested in the field in which the phenomenon in question exists, thus increasing the variables that will influence behaviour. By making use of comparisons of different societies, of groups within one or more societies, and comparisons at the same or different points in time, these variables can be identified and isolated. The resulting deductions from quantifiable data then form the basis for grand theories of social behaviour (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000). The quantitative approach adopted in such research permits the process to be replicated in further studies, thus allowing the validity and reliability of these grand theories to be ascertained (Bryman, 1988).

The postmodernist movement challenges this testable approach to understanding of human behaviour, which suggests that grand theories are inappropriate in social research. Local, subjective views of individuals and communities are seen as providing the base for understanding social behaviour and structure as individuals will interpret the meaning of a situation according to previous experience, motivation and social conventions (Layder, 1993; Haralambos and Holborn, 2000).

The basic concept of postmodernism is that “knowledge claims must be set within the conditions of the world today and in the multiple perspectives of class, race, gender, and other group affiliations” (Creswell, 1998: 79). These conditions include the presence of hierarchies, power and control by individuals within these hierarchies, the multiple meanings of language, the importance of marginalised groups, and the presence of universal factors that are true regardless of social conditions.

It is claimed that such knowledge can only be achieved through what Weber described as *verstehen*, that is inductively understanding the meanings and motives

placed on particular social actions and processes by those involved in them (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000). However, these meanings are only produced with reference to other meanings with the result that all knowledge is “contextualized by its historical and cultural nature” (Agger, 1991: 117).

In any one situation there will, therefore, exist multiple, value-laden realities that the researcher must examine inductively to identify common themes in order to make claims about the reality of the phenomenon in question (Creswell, 1998). Guba and Lincoln (1998) suggest that this assumption of what is real is a construction in the minds of the individuals concerned. There are, therefore:

multiple, often conflicting, constructions, and all (at least potentially) are meaningful ... [and] truth is a matter of the best-informed and most sophisticated constructions on which there is a consensus at a given time. (Guba and Lincoln, 1998: 243)

By borrowing from the social sciences and adopting the constructivist paradigm, or naturalistic study approach, it is possible to understand these issues and interaction by viewing multiple realities (Lincoln and Guba 2003: 253-91, Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Knowledge and truth are seen as the result of perspective, created not discovered by the mind. Reality is pluralistic (expressible in a variety of symbol and language systems) and plastic (stretched and shaped to fit the purposes of the individual) (Lincoln and Guba, 2003: 236).

It is this postmodern constructivist paradigm that is adopted in this study, taking the view that all individually constructed realities are valid and that by inductively examining these realities, or entrepreneurial personal story explorations (Perren and Ram, 2001), it is possible to increase knowledge of the research topic in question.

### **Implications for ontology, epistemology and methodology**

The constructivism paradigm identified above as the philosophical base for this research adopts “a relativist ontology, a transactional epistemology, and a hermeneutic, dialectic methodology ... [and has a] commitment to study the world from the point of view of the interacting individuals” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003: 247).



The constructivist paradigm sees the form and nature of reality (ontology) as being relativist. That is:

realities are apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature (although elements are often shared among many individuals and even across cultures), and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions. Constructions are not more or less 'true', in any absolute sense, but simply more or less informed and/or sophisticated. Constructions are alterable, as are their associated 'realities'. (Guba and Lincoln 1998: 206)

The nature of the relationship between the knower, or would-be knower, and what can be known (epistemology) is transactional and subjectivist. "The investigator and the object of investigation are assumed to be interactively linked so that the 'findings' are literally created as the investigation proceeds" (Guba and Lincoln, 1998: 207). The distinction between ontology and epistemology disappears as "what can be known is inextricably intertwined with the interaction between a particular investigator and a particular object or group" (Guba and Lincoln, 1998: 206).

The processes by which the researchers (inquirer or would-be knower) goes about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known (methodology) is hermeneutic and dialectic (concerned with interpretation and discussion of the truth of opposing concepts and opinions). In such a methodological approach:

the variable and personal (intramental) nature of social constructions suggests that individual constructions can be elicited and refined only through interaction between and among investigator and respondents. These varying constructions are interpreted using conventional hermeneutical techniques, and are compared and contrasted through a dialectical interchange. The final aim is to distil a consensus construction that is more informed and sophisticated than any of the predecessor constructions (including, of course, the etic construction of the investigator). (Guba and Lincoln, 1998: 207)

According to Schwandt (1998), in order to understand this world of multiple meanings or realities, the researcher has to "focus on the processes by which these meanings are created, negotiated, sustained, and modified within a specific context of human action" (1998: 225). Therefore, it is suggested that quantitative data is not sufficient to understand the influence of these factors in a particular situation, and

that qualitative data is more appropriate as “it is usually seen as richer, more vital, as having greater depth and as more likely to present a true picture of a way of life, of people’s experiences, attitudes and beliefs” (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000: 971).

This has implications for the role of the researcher/fieldworker, as there is a need for closeness to the respondents and an acknowledgement of the researcher’s own values and meanings associated with the phenomena in question. The role of the social researcher is seen by Vidich and Lyman (2000) as being “the analysis and understanding of the patterned conduct and social processes of society, and of the bases in values and attitudes on which individual and collective participation in social life rests” (Vidich and Lyman, 2000: 37).

These ontological, epistemological and methodological positions of the qualitative constructivist research paradigm form the basis for the selection of an appropriate research methodology and methods for this particular study.

#### **1.4 Overview of methodology and methods**

As discussed above, the aim of this study is to identify the internal barriers to business development of a particular population – small and micro convenience store sector retail business owners from the South Asian ethnic minority community in Edinburgh. While there may be evidence of wider external barriers to all business development, the focus of this study on the internal barriers implies that, although common themes may exist and the relative importance of specific issues may fluctuate, the combination of factors at any one time will be unique to each individual business owner.

This uniqueness does not conform to the natural science/modernist understanding of knowledge as being purely observable and measurable. Rather, it suggests the need for a postmodernist stance that seeks to understand the multiple perspectives, influences and experiences that combine to explain a given situation or phenomenon. As a result, a methodology needs to be developed that does not simply quantify observable phenomenon but seeks to build an holistic picture of the situation being studied by identifying individual perceptions of the situation and the meanings

attached to them – a qualitative constructivist approach suggested by Hill and McGowan (1999) as appropriate for small business research.

This section provides an overview of qualitative methodologies, identifies the approach adopted in the study and introduces the methods used.

### **Qualitative methodologies**

As discussed above, quantitative research requires the identification of a closely defined hypothesis or theory, which can then be proved or disproved by empirical data gathered in the course of the research (Bryman, 1988). In contrast, it is suggested that qualitative research can develop valid theories by grounding such theory in the data collected and offering supporting claims of credible evidence in the form of illustrative examples of key concepts (Seale, 1999).

Such a methodological approach was proposed in the grounded theory methodology developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), who suggested that any theoretical concepts and hypothesis must emerge from the data as it is gathered during the research process. Strauss and Corbin (1990) developed this approach further and claimed that such an approach demanded that data is collected and analysed before making reference to existing theories.

Grounded theory provides a procedure for developing categories of information, interconnecting these categories, and building categories together to result in a discursive set of theoretical propositions. However, the approach does not acknowledge existing explanations of similar experiences and phenomena, which limits the power, and scope of its explanatory potential (Creswell, 1998).

This limitation can be addressed by adopting an adaptive theory in which prior theoretical concepts and models suggest patterns and order in the emerging data. Layder's (1998) sociological adaptive theory suggests that existing theory and models of behaviour can guide the analytical process to develop new, clearer understandings of the impact of identified factors on a particular population. In addition, the researcher is encouraged to acknowledge prior experience and understanding of the subject in question, and to address stereotypes held in order to provide a base upon which to build these understandings (Layder, 1998; Guy, 1999).

Adaptive grounded theory is consistent with the constructivist paradigm as it both subjectivist and objectivist (Layder, 1998: 141) and implies that “approaches which presuppose that social reality can be understood by reference to some single, unifying principle or feature ... be abandoned” (Layder, 1998: 176-7). Similarly, its epistemological stance is also consistent as it “endorses an epistemological position which incorporates both the ‘internal’ subjective point of view of social interaction while simultaneously appreciating that such activity always takes place in the wider social settings and contextual resources” (Layder, 1998: 140).

The process uses aspects of prior theoretical ideas and conceptual models to “refine and readjust the direction of the research, lending shape to the constantly emerging research data. At the same time, the collection of empirical information and data helps reconfigure the theoretical model (or looser arrangements of concepts and ideas)” (Layder, 1998: 172).

Data that does not conform to existing, acknowledged theories provides the base upon which the researcher builds new understandings, identifies categories and develops new theory. Adaptive theory is appropriate for research which “attends to the interweaving of system elements (settings and contexts of activity) with the micro-features (interpersonal encounters) of social life” (Layder, 1998: 144).

It is this adaptive grounded theory approach that has been adopted in this research. It allows the existing knowledge of the nature of the small and micro business sector, ethnic minority business research (system elements) and understandings of the role of ethnicity in business behaviour (micro-features) to be explored in a previously un-research setting – the Pakistani community owned convenience store sector in Edinburgh.

### **Adaptive grounded theory methods**

Whilst noting that the grounded theory methodology provides a sound empirical base for theory building, Layder (1993) suggests that in order to be most effective it must “draw on other approaches to research as well as forms of general theory so that it may secure more sophisticated and comprehensive grounded theories” (Layder, 1993: 51).

Adaptive grounded theory “attempts to combine an emphasis on prior theoretical ideas and models which feed into and guide research while at the same time attending to the generation of theory from the ongoing analysis of data” (Layder, 1998: 19).

This approach traces the reciprocal influences and interconnections between people’s social activities and the wider environment in which they are played out and has an equal emphasis on the discovery of theory and the employment of prior theory (Layder, 1998: 20). In practice “theory both adapts to, or is shaped by, incoming evidence at the same time as the data themselves are filtered through (and adapted to) the extant theoretical materials that are relevant and at hand” (Layder, 1998: 38).

Prior theoretical concepts and models suggest patterns emerging in the empirical data collected in the research process and, at the same time, are responsive to new theories suggested in the data. The distinguishing feature of the adaptive theory methodology is that it “simultaneously privileges (prior) theory and research data in the emergence of new theory” (Layder, 1998: 27). Theory-generation can only be maximised through “some sort of dialogue with all the kinds of resources available: general and substantive theory, theory-testing types, sensitizing concepts, and empirically emerging theory” (Layder, 1998: 43).

This iterative approach can be achieved by adopting the following outline of appropriate research methods.

Stage 1: Wide ranging review of literature considered relevant to the research topic leading to identification of topics for inclusion in the data collection process.

Stage 2: Data collection.

Stage 3: Constant comparison analysis and identification of emerging themes.

Stage 4: Further in-depth review of literature associated with key themes.

Stage 5: Comparison of findings with existing theory.

Stage 6: Development of new theory.

These six stages shape the structure of the research methods used in the study and, for consistency, also shape the structure of the thesis.

### **1.5 Content of thesis**

The adaptive grounded theory methodology outlined above has implications for the literature review process, sample size and selection, the collection, management and analysis of data, the role of the researcher and the extent to which the research findings and new theories generated can be generalised. These issues, along with discussion of the research and fieldwork experience, are presented in Chapter 2: Methodology and Methods.

The methodology demands an initial understanding of the wide range of existing theory and topics potentially related to the research subject. This is presented in Chapter 3: Initial Literature Review. Subjects reviewed include an overview of literature related to small and micro business research, convenience stores and small independent retailers, motivation, ethnic minority business research, the Edinburgh South Asian community, and the role of religion and culture in business activity. In addition, the chapter presents review of additional topics emerging during the fieldwork phase of the research (generational issues and symbol group membership). A conceptual model combining the key internal factors impacting upon small and micro, ethnic minority community owned business development is developed to provide the basis for the empirical data collection interview schedule.

The fieldwork conducted in the research is presented in Chapter 4: Fieldwork Findings through the means of rich descriptive findings from the interviews Edinburgh Pakistani convenience store owners. These findings are grouped into seven subject areas, broadly conforming to the groupings developed for the interview schedule.

Outcomes of the constant comparison analysis of theses fieldwork findings adopted during the data collection phase of the research form the structure of Chapter 5: Emerging Themes. This process reveals key themes common to all business owners in the research sample, although the relevance to individual businesses appears known to greater or lesser extents. In addition, a range of themes is identified, acknowledged by varying members of the theoretical sample interviewed. These

factors are combined to form an initial conceptual model which forms the basis for the second stage literature review.

In accordance with the methodology discussed above, Chapter 6: Second Stage Literature Review presents a review of relevant literature published during the extended research period, and a more in-depth examination of the prior research into the emerging key themes: personal and family business aims and expectations; changing aspirations and motivation for convenience store sector micro-business self-employment; and wider family, community and cultural factors.

In Chapter 7: Theory Development, the interaction of the three key emerging themes, and the potential influence on them of the wider issues (known and unknown, acknowledged and unacknowledged), is explored. These are compared to existing understandings of the small and micro ethnic minority owned business sector, new theory proposed and the more detailed understanding of the key emerging themes allows the initial conceptual model to be refined. The two-dimensional model of the interaction of the three key emerging themes is developed to include the known and unknown, and acknowledged and unacknowledged dimensions.

Finally, Chapter 8 offers the conclusions from the research. The research process is reprised and the relevance of the three-dimensional conceptual model emerging from the adaptive grounded theory approach to identifying the range and interaction of internal factors influencing the business development of minority community micro-businesses is presented. Suggestions for further academic research to clarify, measure and weight these factors in the development of individualised business support measures are made.





## **Chapter 2: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS**

### **2.1 Qualitative, adaptive grounded theory and business research**

Adaptive grounded theory - the role of theory in qualitative research  
Social science and business research

### **2.2 Research process and design**

### **2.3 Development of sensitising concepts and interview schedule**

### **2.4 Research population, sampling methods and final research sample**

Edinburgh South Asian ethnic minority community and business activity  
Theoretical sampling  
Research sample

### **2.5 Data collection, management and analysis**

Data collection and management  
Initial analysis – coding

### **2.6 Limitations – internal and external validity and reliability**

Credibility  
Confirmability  
Transferability  
Dependability

### **2.7 Summary**



This thesis presents the findings of the study of small and micro firms that explores the interaction of internal process of decision-making and ownership that impact upon Edinburgh's South Asian owned convenience stores. Section 1.3 outlined the constructivist paradigm as a philosophical basis that facilitates a description of the small and micro enterprises that make up the population at the focus of the research. Such a framework is an appropriate means on which to build an understanding of the tacit, intangible, culturally defined and unquantifiable suggests that are a primary feature of the proposed fieldwork inquiry. Additionally, Section 1.4 raised a number of implications for the research design and the selection of methodologies and instruments consistent with the intended qualitative fieldwork stance, and introduced adaptive grounded theory.

This chapter expands upon the methodological underpinnings of the adopted approach to empirical research. The role of theory generation in the adaptive grounded theory methodology and the appropriateness of social science methods for business research are outlined. The implications of this for the research process are discussed and the research plan established. The conceptual stages in the research plan are presented and the fieldwork experience described, linking to the rest of the thesis in the following sections: review of literature to develop sensitising concepts and fieldwork interview schedule; identification of the research population, sample selection approaches and the final research sample; data collection, management and analysis techniques and processes; finally theory generation and findings presentation. Thus, Chapter Two is an evaluation of the research in relation to issues of the role of the researcher, the fieldworks' credibility, dependability, and confirmability (internal and external validity), and generalisability of the conclusions drawn from it.

## **2.1 Qualitative, adaptive grounded theory and business research**

As stated previously, the aim of the research is to identify, and explore the interaction of, internal factors influencing South Asian owned convenience store businesses in Edinburgh. This thesis argues that these factors fall into three main

groupings: motivation for self-employment; personal and business background and experience; and ethnic, cultural, family and community influences.

This section discusses the rationale behind adopting a qualitative investigative approach, questions the role of theory in qualitative methodology and presents the adaptive grounded theory methodology developed by Layder (1993; 1998). The suitability of social science methodologies and methods for business research is identified.

### **Adaptive grounded theory - the role of theory in qualitative research**

As discussed above (Section 1.3), the thesis contends that the abstract, intangible nature of the topic under examination in the research makes it unsuitable for a positivistic, scientific, quantitative approach. Rather, there is a call for a non-positivistic, constructivistic, qualitative approach that accepts that all business owners studied offer a version of reality and the ‘truth’ is a combination of mixed views and meanings.

By taking such an approach, the research is not concerned with the deductive, quantitative approach of finding the majority viewpoint and ignoring the different. In contrast, it is concerned with an inductive, qualitative approach of exploring the different and finding common themes.

The fieldwork thus draws on the constructivist paradigm that takes the stance that “to understand this world of meaning one must interpret it. The enquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors” (Schwandt, 1998: 222).

In such an approach to increasing understanding of a particular situation, contingency setting or phenomenon the enquirer must “watch, listen, ask, record, and examine” (ibid) and can be seen as *bricoleur* or maker of quilts, “deploying whatever strategies, methods, or empirical materials are at hand ... what is available in the context, and what the researcher can do in that setting” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003: 6).

The interpretive practices involved develop a montage in which “several different images are superimposed onto one another to create a picture” (ibid). While objective reality cannot be captured, using multiple methods, or triangulation, an in-depth

understanding of the subject in question can be secured. Interpretations are built on association based on contrasting images that blend into one another but are immediately recognisable by individuals with similar shared experiences (Marshall and Rossman, 1995; Appleton, 1995; Guy, 1999). These images of reality do not happen sequentially, one at a time, but simultaneously and the viewer “puts the sequences together into a meaningful emotional whole” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003: 7).

The social science qualitative grounded theory methodology of Glaser and Strauss (1967) is seen as appropriate and consistent with the paradigm reviewed above. In a pure form, this methodological approach relies purely on theory emerging from the empirical data collected in the course of the study and excludes the acknowledgement of existing theory. This stance is questioned in later developments to the approach adopted by Strauss and Corbin (1990) where prior theory is addressed only after completion of empirical work – describing the whole network of relations, assumptions and transactions..

In contrast to this, adaptive grounded theory methodology developed by Layder (1993; 1998) stresses the importance of identifying and examining as wide a range of prior knowledge and existing theory as a first stage of the research process. This “should be regarded as ‘networks’ or ‘integrated clusterings’ of concepts, propositions and ‘world-views’ [and] theory construction [should] always be undertaken against a background of more general underlying assumptions” (Layder, 1993: 15). This allows the researcher to contextualise, or benchmark against a store of knowledge, the research at the same time as “recognising the importance of actors’ meaning and in some way incorporating them in research” (Layder, 1993: 16).

A further contention is that theory and conceptual modelling falls into two distinct categories. Substantive theory is developed for a substantive area through comparative analysis among groups in the same area. On the other hand, formal or general theory is developed for a formal or conceptual area through comparative analysis between separate empirical cases. However, such formal theory cannot be

developed in a way that shortcuts initial substantive grounding (Layder, 1993: 42). By such an approach one “ensures that the concepts and categories so produced will be appropriate and relevant. Also, it means that one’s analysis as a whole will be grounded in empirical reality” (Layder, 1993: 44). Therefore, the research process is seen as “a running theoretical discussion [and] as an ever developing entity which can be extended and modified [theory being] a constant and flexible accompaniment to the incremental collection of data and the unfolding nature of the research” (Layder, 1993: 45).

This mix of deducing possible hypothesis from existing theory and the inductive process of generating theory from an information base requires appropriate information gathering processes. These are seen to involve focusing on gaps in knowledge about social processes and their significance, confirming or verifying previous findings, investigating a social problem – or a mix of these three aims. Primarily the information is descriptive, not trying to give detailed accounts of the closed or bounded social worlds of groups or communities, and the research “focuses on segments of society or social processes about which there is a lack of information” (Layder, 1993: 47), as is the case in this research.

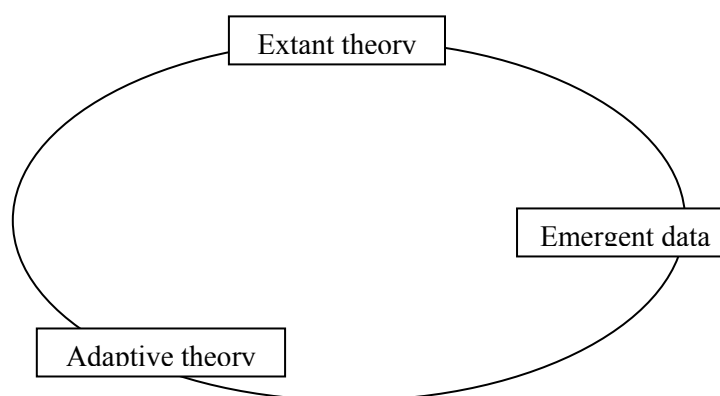
In the proposed methodological approach, the research process is concerned with clarifying conceptual models and assessing their usefulness in increasing an understanding of the particular area(s) under observation. The study is guided by general conceptual frameworks and particular derived questions taken from them in order to organise and give sense to the emerging findings (Layder, 1993: 48). Thus exploratory fieldwork questions develop into concepts and descriptions which are “theoretically insightful and thus provide useful starting points for further research” (Layder, 1993: 49). Once developed, these act as “sensitizing devices” (Layder, 1993: 49) to help the subsequent formulation of theoretical ideas and data organisation.

Such an approach to research can be expressed as follows:

[it] rests on the twin employment of, and the subsequent interaction between, extant or ‘prior’ theoretical materials and emergent data from ongoing research ... prior concepts and theory both shape and inform the analysis of data which emanates from ongoing research at the very same

time that the emergent data itself shapes and moulds the existing theoretical materials. (Layder, 1998: 166)

This relationship between theory and data is “a continuous circuit of influences and effects” (Layder, 1998: 167). It provides a link between general, formal theory and the empirical research by testing the validity of aspects of general theory in the context of the ongoing fieldwork research. In addition, the process reformulates or adds explanatory scope to the original theory in contexts not previously considered (Layder, 1998: 168). The cyclical approach is illustrated by Figure 2.1. below.



**Figure 2.1: Relations between extant theory, emergent data and adaptive theory**  
(Source: Layder, 1998: 167)

In adaptive grounded theory research this iterative process continues throughout the course of the study as it:

attempts to map some of the lifeworld-system interlocks that form a synthesis of subjective and objective aspects of social life [and] is both descriptive and explanatory and relies on concepts, networks and conceptual models of the social world which both shape and are shaped by that world. (Layder, 1998: 175)

### **Social science and business research**

The adaptive grounded theory methodology with its qualitative approach has its foundations in the social sciences, and is also relevant for exploring the empirical fieldwork questions of small business research.

As detailed in Section 3.2, our current academic understanding of small and micro enterprises have developed from the Bolton Committee’s (1971) insights. This UK government report used qualitative methods to describe the perceptions of the

realities of such enterprises held by a wide range of individual business owners. No one, clear definition of the sector emerged and the value and importance of individual and sectoral issues was emphasised.

The ongoing need for a qualitative approach to business research is stressed by Sparrow (1999) who, when investigating the support needs of small and micro enterprises, notes that:

basis quantitative indicators ... fail to generate sufficient insights into clients needs ... there is a need to get closer to the world of business owner-managers, to identify how they see situations ... [and] there is an emerging recognition of the value of, need for, and required sophistication of qualitative studies of small business practice to inform small business support initiatives. (Sparrow, 1999: 122)

Also Hill and McGowan (1999) add, it is important to remember that the success of a particular micro-enterprise focuses on the skills, attributes and background of the individual business owner (see Section 3.2 for discussion of these issues). Therefore, there is a need for fieldwork research into such small and micro enterprises to “reflect its individual and unique characteristics and circumstances in addition to taking account of the personalities within it” (Hill and McGowan, 1999: 8). This can be achieved through adopting the constructivist paradigm as “it is an approach which embraces the notion of multiple realities and accepts that each individual constructs their own reality as they interpret and perceive their world” (Hill and McGowan, 1999: 9). Similarly, Shaw (1999) comments that: “small firm research is at too “young” a stage in its development to benefit from a positivist research approach” (Shaw, 1999: 59). Rather, research should be concerned with theory development, not testing and researchers “need to adopt an approach that allows them to “get close” to participants, penetrate their internal logic and interpret their subjective understanding of reality” (Shaw, 1999: 60).

Building on these early studies, there has been a marked increase in the conceptual and empirical understanding of ethnic minority small business issues (see Section 3.5), based largely, but not exclusively, on such an approach.

This thesis contends that such a methodological approach is appropriate for ethnic minority business research.



In support of this, in research into ethnic minority business involvement in the UK, Jenkins (1984) proposes that:

we need more qualitative studies. If we are to understand and distinguish between ‘cultural’ and ‘structural’ factors which go to encourage or inhibit the success of ethnic minority businesses ... [and] must be in a position to understand the decisions and actions of all those individuals. (Jenkins, 1984: 236)

Thus, the primary aim of the study is to explore personal, intangible issues: beginning by describing the range and interaction of internal factors impacting upon the development of Edinburgh’s South Asian owned convenience stores. Adopting an adaptive grounded theory approach allows the researcher to address a wide range of existing formal theories and concepts. This includes convenience store, small and micro enterprise and ethnic minority business literature, prior experience and widely held stereotypes in order to develop sensitising concepts to guide the empirical study. The empirical research gives an opportunity to explore the range of individual South Asian business owners’ experiences and perceptions of the factors influencing the development of their particular business. It offers an opportunity to widen the scope of substantive theory by comparing findings from each of the individual businesses included in the research sample. This emerging increased understanding of the issues relevant to such a small ethnic minority community will, in turn, contribute to a general explanation of a number of areas: namely the micro retail sector, small and micro businesses, and ethnic minority business activity in the Edinburgh context.

## **2.2 Research process and design**

Fundamentally, the adaptive grounded theory methodology relies upon a cyclical process of linking extant theory, emergent data and adaptive theory. The fieldwork implications of such an approach include the development of a design for the research process and the presentation of findings that incorporates appropriate methods of acknowledging prior theory, sample selection, data collection and management techniques and the iterative theory generation process.

These factors are included in the research process, or plan, proposed by O’Donnell and Cummins (1999) for small business research that “allow the phenomenon to be examined within its own social context ... examined in totality .. allow[s] the

researcher to get close to the participants .. [and is] sensitive to the holistic nature of the phenomenon” (O’Donnell and Cummins, 1999: 84).

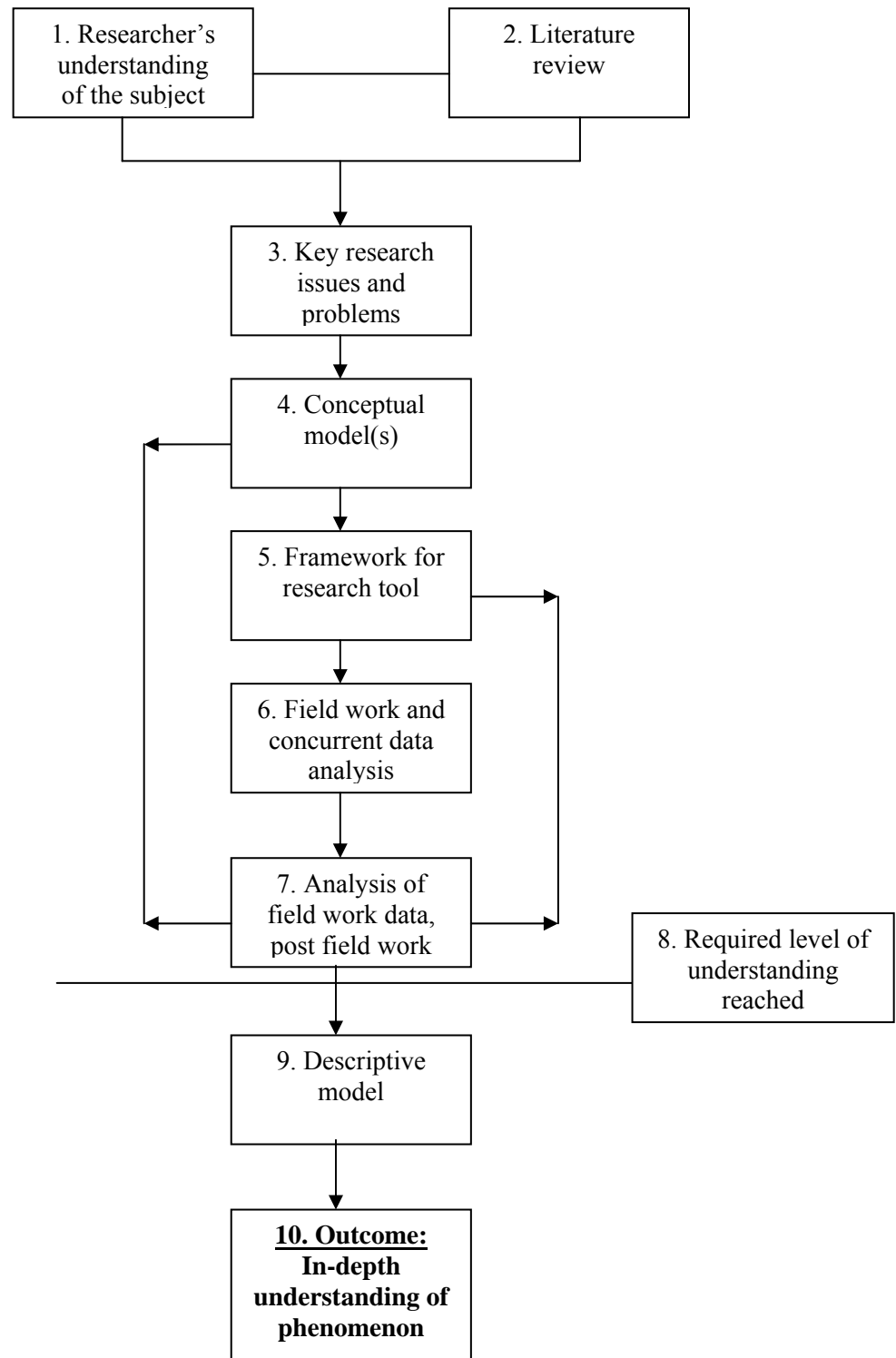
The role of extant theory is acknowledged in a review of relevant literature that combines with the researcher’s understanding of the subject, thus enabling the identification of the key research issues and problems. Themes from the literature, their interactions and relationships are then linked together to develop conceptual models to guide the development of a conceptual framework for the research. This process also serves to improve the researchers evolving understanding of the subject and highlight any gaps within the existing formal theory of the subjects, topics and themes being researched. These models and concepts form the framework for initial empirical work and the ongoing data collection and analysis process. This is termed the emergent data stage.

Data collection and analysis are concurrent activities and, when combined with comparison to the conceptual models, allow the researcher to amend the interview framework as required to include areas highlighted as worthy of further investigation. Such refined frameworks are then used to guide the later stages of fieldwork until an in-depth understanding of the research area is reached, leading, perhaps, to an emergence of descriptive models of the phenomenon. This can be termed adaptive theory generation (O’Donnell and Cummins, 1999: 84-5).

It is suggested that within such a research plan or process:

a variety of methods can be used to suit the purpose of the research, and to develop and build on understandings as the research progresses over time ... each should contribute some increased understanding of the issue, thereby allowing the next research stage to build on previous learning and knowledge... it provides ongoing empirical support for the conceptual description ... [and] allows the researcher to examine in increased depth and width a number of key components in a given research topic. (O’Donnell and Cummins, 1999: 85)

In accordance with this viewpoint, the research process illustrated in Figure 2.2 broadly conforms to the iterative extant theory, emergent data, adaptive theory cycle of the adaptive grounded theory methodology identified above, and forms the base upon which the methods adopted in this study were developed.



**Figure 2.2: A qualitative research process**  
(Source: O'Donnell and Cummins, 1999: 84)

The conceptual, theoretical details of the steps in this research process and discussion of the research experience are presented in the remainder of the methodology chapter. In summary these are: the development of sensitising concepts through a broad literature review leading to interview questions and schedule; identification of research population, sampling methods and final sample selection; data collection and management; presentation of findings; emerging themes and iterative literature reviews; theory generation; issues of the role of the researcher, credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability.

### **2.3 Development of sensitising concepts and interview schedule**

Essentially, it is argued that the adaptive grounded theory methodology is guided by general theoretical frameworks and concepts taken from them. These sensitising concepts or devices provide a starting point for further exploration of the primary research questions and fieldwork focus. This process of exploring prior theory continues throughout the research process as new relevant concepts emerge (Layder, 1993: 48-9).

In the research process adopted in this study (Figure 2.2) this is included in stages 1-3, by the researcher addressing their prior understanding of the research subject and carrying out a wide ranging literature review in order to identify key research issues and problems. This allows the development of conceptual models, which, in turn, provide a framework for the design of empirical research tools (stages 4 and 5).

As the research progresses, emergent data guides an ongoing review of relevant literature, thus allowing the conceptual models and frameworks to be expanded until the required level of understanding is reached (stage 8). A descriptive model can then be developed and added to existing knowledge of the phenomenon in question. By this means a continuous and iterative process provides a base for further empirical study (stages 9 and 10).

In this study of internal barriers to the development of convenience stores owned by members of the Edinburgh South Asian community, the researcher's understanding of the subject area was partially based on previous experience as a convenience store manager. This knowledge of the practical difficulties of running such a business was

useful in identifying potential topics for the literature review, and also for gaining access to individual businesses. Understanding of the Edinburgh South Asian community and business activity was gained through a series of background interviews. This included a colleague with previous experience of ethnic minority convenience store research (Wallace, 2001), an ethnic minority business support provider (Akram, 2001), the Edinburgh City Council Equality Department (Hameed, 2001), South Asian community small business owners (Uddin, 2001; Unis, 2001) and community representatives (Khan, 2001; Uddin, 2001).

The insights gained from these interviews both shaped the development of sensitising concepts and conceptual models leading to the research framework and underpinned the identification of the research population and sample selection processes described later in the chapter.

The initial literature review, presented in Chapter 3, covered the following areas: small and micro business theory; convenience store and small independent retail business research; literature concerning motivation, family business and the influence of religion and culture on business activity; and ethnic minority business research. This process identified both small and micro business and ethnic minority business issues that had the potential to impact on the development of South Asian owned convenience stores.

Factors that emerged during the research process and subsequently reviewed in the literature were attitudes to symbol group membership and the importance of generational issues and succession planning. These generational and succession issues emerged as key themes and being further developed in the second stage literature review (Chapter 6) in conjunction with themes relating to multi-ethnic community business research, family enterprises and mixed social and economic embeddedness.

The combination of this range of factors, summarised as aspects of the trading environment (external small and micro business factors and ethnic minority business opportunity structures) and the trading approach (internal small and micro business factors and ethnic minority group characteristics), produced a conceptual model of

the potential influences on individual small minority, small business development (see Figure 3.3).

The range of factors identified in the model formed the base from which a list of interview topics was developed for use in the empirical data collection process. This fieldwork framework included questions of personal and business backgrounds, motivational factors, individual perceptions of business and personal influences, strategies and barriers to business development, succession planning issues and perceptions of symbol groups.

The use of the interview topics is discussed below.

## **2.4 Research population, sampling methods and final research sample**

In addition to providing insights to guide the development of sensitising concepts and the resulting literature review and interview schedule, the background interviews referred to above also guided the identification of the research population and development of a workable research sample.

### **Edinburgh South Asian ethnic minority community and business activity**

At the commencement of the study, the available statistics on the South Asian ethnic minority community in Edinburgh were those of the 1991 Census. This showed the population to be 4,129 (less than 1 % of the City population), the country of origin being 2,625 Pakistan, 1,176 India and 328 Bangladesh (Dalton and Hampton, 1994). Further Scottish Executive (2001) data estimated this population percentage to have remained at less than 1% of the population, a proportion which remained relatively unaltered according to the first census of the twenty-first century (Scottish Executive, 2004).

Background interviews (again supported by Scottish Executive, 2004) estimated the population of the Edinburgh South Asian communities as: 10 – 12,000 Pakistani, 4,000 Indian and 2,000 Bangladeshi (Akram, 2001; Hameed, 2001; Khan, 2001; Uddin, 2001). Further background to the community is discussed in the development of the sensitising concepts guiding the research (Section 3.6).

The extent of business activity within the Edinburgh South Asian community is more difficult to determine. The 1991 Census suggested that ethnic minority community self-employment levels were higher than those of the majority population (30% male and 11.8% female ethnic minority self-employment compared to 11.8% male and 4.7% female white community) (Dalton and Hampton, 1994). As with the population percentages, this is largely unchanged as the 2001 Census indicates that 32% of the Scottish Pakistani, 22% Indian and 19.9% Bangladeshi populations are self-employed (Scottish Executive, 2004). These statistics are supported in the background interviews (Akram, 2001; Khan, 2001; Uddin, 2001; Wallace, 1999, 2001) and sectors of South Asian self-employment identified as predominantly, but not exclusively, low level retailing (clothes shops and convenience stores) and food manufacture (Pakistani community), manufacturing, wholesale, clothes shops, restaurants and professional activity (Indian) and restaurants (Bangladeshi).

In addition to the lack of firm statistics on the extent and business activity of the Edinburgh's ethnic minority communities, despite the research conducted by Deakins et al. (2005) and Dassler et al. (2007), there is no comprehensive list of the city's convenience stores.

Information provided by business support agencies (Akram, 2001; Small Business Gateway, 2001), convenience store suppliers (Unis, 2001) and Yellow Pages telephone listings indicates approximately 400 convenience stores and newsagents throughout the Edinburgh area. This is an under-estimate of the extent of the sector as only those businesses paying to advertise are included in Yellow Pages, and experience and visits to areas with a known concentration of small retail businesses suggests many such enterprises do not do so. While there are a number of inner city concentrations of convenience stores, these type of businesses exist in all areas of the city (see Figure 2.3). It is estimated that almost two thirds of these are owned by members of the Pakistani community (Akram, 2001; Khan, 2001; Unis, 2001; Wallace, 1999).

The comparative size of Edinburgh's Pakistani community, and its high level of involvement throughout the city in the convenience store sector, suggested the selection of a research sample focused on Pakistani owned convenience stores.

### **Theoretical sampling**

According to Layder (1998) research sampling falls into two broad forms. Probability or random sampling is used usually in quantitative research to draw a statistically representative sample from a wider population about which there is an existing comparator available, allowing the researcher to generalise from individual samples to a wider population. In contrast, non-probability, or purposive, sampling is associated with qualitative studies in which there is limited knowledge of the population available and little intention to generalise the research findings. Thus, in purposive sampling:

its logic and power lies in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study ... from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research ... [through] qualitative data culled from in-depth interviews or various kinds of involved observation. (Layder, 1998: 46)

In such an approach, “there is nothing predetermined about the size of these samples and flexibility is the keynote” (ibid). Information or data is gathered until sufficient is available to allow researchers “to test-out or produce a theory or explanation to account for the data ... [and the researcher] stops gathering information (expanding the sample size) at the point when no new information or theoretical ideas are appearing in the data” (ibid).

The insights gained from qualitative studies using purposive sampling are related to “the information-richness of the cases selected and the observational and analytical capabilities of the researcher than with the sample size” (ibid). As Eisenhardt (1991) notes, “different cases often emphasize complimentary aspects of a phenomenon. By piecing together the individual patterns, the researcher can draw a more complete theoretical picture” (Eisenhardt, 1991: 620).

As discussed previously, adaptive grounded theory evolved from the grounded theory methodology devised by Glaser and Strauss (1967), which included the development of the purposive sampling technique of theoretical sampling. This is driven by an empiricist and inductivist viewpoint that data give rise to the theory construction and that the sample should be adjusted and more data collected in the



light of how previous data have shaped the emerging theory. Events, people and settings are selected for inclusion in the research sample in order to develop the theoretical ideas as far as possible. However, as Layder (1998) notes, “Glaser and Strauss’s formulation neglects the role of prior theory (general, substantive, hypothesis-testing, and so on) in the research process and it is this which the adaptive approach wants to draw in and include within its terms of reference” (Layder, 1998: 47).

Accordingly, an adaptive grounded theory methodology requires:

true theoretical sampling on a wide-ranging basis ... new people or groups or events are included in the sample not simply on the basis of some purely empiricist directive informed and thus determined by the incoming data but rather, people and events must be progressively included in the sample through the combined force of prior theoretical ideas or models and the collection and analysis of data in relation to them. (Layder, 1998: 47)

Such a sampling approach was adopted for the purposes of this fieldwork study. It was dictated by the adaptive grounded theory methodology upon which this study is based, and appropriate given the limited knowledge of the research population as illustrated above.

### **Research sample**

Fundamentally, this research aims to identify and explore the range and interaction of the internal factors influencing Pakistani community owned convenience stores in Edinburgh. The initial literature review to develop sensitising concepts guiding the research suggests that the development of small and micro businesses is influenced by both internal and external factors (Section 3.4). In order to focus on the internal factors, the aim of the study, the preferred research sample would include businesses from one city location in order to minimise external influence.

The background interviews discussed previously and the researcher’s prior experiential knowledge of the city suggested the EH6 postcode district (see Figure 2.3) as an inner city area that, at the start of the empirical phase of the research in July 2001, supported 40 convenience stores. Visits to the area and discussion with a South Asian convenience store supplier (Unis, 2001) indicated that at least 20 of these businesses were owned by members of Edinburgh’s Pakistani community.

Initial practical attempts to directly access the sample from available databases proved difficult. The first six business owners approached to participate in the study declined for reasons including: lack of interest; time restraints; complaints of being over researched by schools, colleges, City Council and Scottish Executive studies; and suspicion of the research being a cover for tax and other authorities.

These problems echoed the experience of business support providers in accessing the area (Akram, 2001) and, in order to proceed with the empirical study an alternative theoretical sample and access approach was identified.

In order to facilitate access to the Pakistani owned convenience store sector a snowball approach was used. This identifies cases of interest from people who know what cases are likely to be information-rich (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and echoes the approach adopted by Dyer and Ross (2000) who developed their sample for research into ethnic enterprises and their clientele from names given by a business association.

Using introductions and recommendations provided by previous Queen Margaret University researchers, business support providers and convenience store suppliers, access was gained to an initial sample of five business owners. Participation was negotiated and, during the data collection interview, further introductions and recommendations were obtained. The sample was thus developed to include owners with a range of ages, backgrounds, family business involvement, business and migrant generations as suggested as theoretically being influencing factors in business development (Table 2.1). Additional participants were recruited from repeat requests for recommendations of businesses with particular features to include all identified and emerging influencing factors. In addition, available databases were used in order to include businesses in a wide range of socio-demographic locations across the City. These contacts also produced further introductions.

This process continued until no new theoretical ideas emerged in the data collection and analysis process and the final sample comprised 21 businesses, the city wide locations are indicated in Figure 2.3.



<b>Interview</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Owner's age group</b>	<b>Migrant generation</b>	<b>Business generation</b>	<b>Other business activity</b>	<b>Family business activity</b>	<b>Symbol group membership</b>
<b>1</b>	Inner city residential / business	Wallace	55 - 60	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	Yes	No	No
<b>2</b>	Middle class suburb	Wallace	50 - 55	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	Yes	No
<b>3</b>	Rejuvenated inner city residential	Akram	35 - 40	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Yes	Yes	No
<b>4</b>	Rundown working class suburb	Akram	30 - 35	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Yes	Yes	No
<b>5</b>	Inner city residential	Unis	45 - 50	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	No	No
<b>6</b>	Middle class suburb	Int 3	35 - 40	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	No	Yes	Yes
<b>7</b>	Working class estate	Int 2	30 - 35	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Yes	No	Considering
<b>8</b>	Inner city residential / light industry	Int 3	30 - 35	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	No	Yes	No
<b>9</b>	UPA housing estate	Int 6	55 - 60	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	Yes	Yes
<b>10</b>	Middle class suburb	Int 4	60 - 65	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	Yes	Yes	No
<b>11</b>	Middle / upper class suburb	Int 2	60 - 65	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	No	No
<b>12</b>	Middle class suburb	Unis	40 - 45	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	Yes	Considering
<b>13</b>	Working class suburb	Yellow Pages	50 - 55	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	No	No
<b>14</b>	Inner city residential / light industry	Yellow Pages	25 - 30	3 <sup>rd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	No	Yes	Considering
<b>15</b>	Middle class suburb	Int 14	50 - 55	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	Yes	Previously
<b>16</b>	Housing estate	Int 5	45 - 50	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	Yes	No	No
<b>17</b>	Inner city residential / office	Int 15	45 - 50	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	No	Yes	Considered previously
<b>18</b>	Inner city residential / business	Int 2	35 - 40	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	No	Yes	No
<b>19</b>	Working / middle class residential / light industry	Wallace	35 - 40	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	No	Yes	No
<b>20</b>	Middle class suburb	Int 19	40 - 45	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Yes	Yes	Considering
<b>21</b>	Working class suburb	Int 20	30 - 35	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	Yes	Considering

**Table 2.1: Final research sample**

## **2.5 Data collection, management and analysis**

The background interviews discussed above took place between March and May 2001. The main data collection phase of the study took place between September 2001 and November 2002: the length of time taken being due to the ongoing constant comparison analysis approach to the theoretical sampling strategy adopted, and the researcher's personal situation requiring a change of mode from full time to part time study. Time scales for the remainder of the analysis, discussion and theory development phases of the research, and completion of the thesis, were subsequently altered when personal circumstances forced a two year suspension of the research project. However, the benefit of this was that insights into the emerging topics was greatly enhanced by the wealth of research findings published in the interim period and incorporated into the iterative development of the sensitising concepts driving analysis, discussion and theory development.

### **Data collection and management**

Data collection methods regarded by Marshall and Rossman (1995) as appropriate to qualitative research include participation, observation, in-depth interviewing and the review of documents. Within a particular study there may be a combination of methods used and the researcher “can assess the strengths and limitations of each method, then decide if that method will work with the particular questions and in the particular setting for a given study” (Marshall and Rossman, 1995: 99). This mix of methods is supported by Layder (1998) and the adaptive grounded theory approach encourages “a multi-pronged strategy ... in order to maximize the potential for theory-generation” (Layder, 1998: 42).

In this particular study, focus groups were not considered an appropriate research tool due to the practical difficulties in getting business owners together and the individual, personal nature of the research topics.

Observation was used to a minor extent as businesses recommended in the snowball sampling techniques described above were visited covertly prior to approach to negotiate inclusion in the study. This gave the researcher an opportunity to assess whether or not the business fitted the requirements of the theoretical sample seeking to include a range of owners' age, socio-economic areas and type of store.

Field notes of the visit to the business premises were made to identify location and layout of store, age group and ethnic background of owner, customer profile, owner's attitude to staff and customers, and the 'feel' of the store. These notes were later compared to notes taken during and after the main data collection interview to help build a rich description of each particular business.

The main data collection was in the form of in-depth interviews or "conversations with a purpose" (Kahn and Cannell, 1957: 149 in Marshall and Rossman, 1995: 80) guided by the range of topics suggested in the review of sensitising concepts (see above).

Recommended businesses that appeared to meet the sampling requirements were contacted by telephone to negotiate participation in the study. The reasons for the research and source of recommendation were discussed and confidentiality assured. In many cases there was an initial reluctance to participate due to pressures of running a convenience store. This was overcome in several cases by the researcher sharing her experience of working in the sector and stressing the potential importance of the increased understanding of the sector that may result from the study. However, a number of those contacted declined to take part in the study and, as discussed above, further recommendations were sought from previous interviewees.

Appointments with those willing to participate were confirmed by letter and included an outline of the possible conversation topics.

Interviews lasted between 20 minutes and a half-day visit including taking over serving in the shop while the owner made refreshments, the average length of interview being 1 hour.

Letters of thanks were sent to all participants and follow up meetings or telephone conversations held with five respondents (see Section 2.6 below).

It was intended to conduct all interviews face to face. However, personal and business factors prevented two interviews taking place and, after repeated attempts to meet, the interviews were conducted by telephone. This was not ideal but the cases

were included in the sample as observational visits and recommendee information suggested the particular examples filled identified gaps in the theoretical sample.

The interviews were semi-structured around the sensitising concepts, but flexible to allow new topics to emerge. Demographic information for Interview Topics 1 and 2 (see Figure 3.4) was gathered by direct questioning including country of origin, family size, qualifications and other business activity. Direct questions were also used to initiate conversation on particular topics but thereafter the conversation was allowed to flow freely. Notes were taken throughout and direct questions asked if a particular interview topic had not been covered by the end of the conversation.

It is recommended that interviews are recorded as tapes and transcripts:

are a public record ... they can be replayed and transcriptions can be improved, and analysis can take off on different tacks unlimited by the original transcript ... and you can inspect sequences of utterances without being limited to the extracts chosen by the first researcher. (Silverman, 2000:829-30)

Of the 19 face-to-face interviews in the study, 17 agreed to the conversation being recorded.

One business owner declined to be taped as he was concerned about his level of English and was wary of technology, and the notes made were more detailed and included direct quotes on particular issues. In the other instance the tape recorder did not work during the second half of the interview and detailed notes were made.

Neither of the telephone interviews was taped.

Ideally, interviews are uninterrupted, however this was not always practical due to the interviews taking place in the business premises during trading hours and such convenience stores being typically single staffed. All but two interviews took place on the shop floor and included frequent interruptions to serve customers. One interview was conducted in the office over the shop but was interrupted by telephone calls and the other non-shop floor meeting included a visit to the owner's home, refreshments and a conversation with his wife.

In all cases copious notes were taken during the conversation and, immediately after, field notes made to add impressions and initial summaries and comments on the various topics. These notes also included comments and discussions that took place after the end of the formal interview and the tape was switched off. Later these were combined with the initial field notes to build the larger picture of each case included in the final sample.

As soon as practical after the interview, the tape was listened to in conjunction with the interview notes and a verbatim transcript made: as an example, the transcript from Interview 11 is included in Appendix 1.

### **Initial analysis - coding**

In order to develop grounded theory from qualitative data Strauss and Corbin (1990) propose that interview transcripts are coded by making comparisons and asking questions in procedures designed to:

1. build rather than simply test theory
2. give the research process the rigor necessary to make the theory 'good' science
3. help the analyst break through biases and assumptions brought to and developed during the research process
4. provide the grounding, build the density, and develop the sensitivity and integration needed to generate a rich, tightly woven, explanatory theory that closely approximates to the reality it represents. (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 57)

Open coding identifies concepts and their properties (general or specific characteristics or attributes) and dimensions (the location of a property along a continuum or range) that are discovered in the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 101). Axial coding then relates categories to their subcategories (the concepts that give clarification and specification to a particular category) and links categories at the level of properties and dimensions, allowing the researcher to develop theory by integrating the context in which the categories are situated with the interaction between them (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 101 – 143). However, the adaptive grounded theory used in this study recommends a less rigid approach. Layder (1998) proposes the use of "primitive pre-coding devices, such as underlining parts of the text or putting an asterisk by certain sections of text in order to highlight their



importance or relevance” (Layder, 1998: 53). This process classifies the data at a tentative level, which can be revised or confirmed at a later stage. While this is similar to the open coding of the traditional grounded theory methodology, it differs in that “the search for new codes and concepts goes on in tandem with the use of extant theoretical assumptions” (Layder, 1998: 55). The approach also differs in the use of axial coding. While pre-coding may give rise to provisional codes, subsequently confirmed in ongoing data collection and analysis, that may be adopted as core codes and categories, “pre-coding or provisional coding should be retained throughout the analysis in parallel, and dialogically engaged with, both emergent core concepts and the extant theoretical materials” (ibid).

This ensures that emergent theory is not detached from established theoretical concepts and ideas, and, as indicated in the cyclical approach illustrated in Figure 2.1, “pre-coding and provisional coding are potential conduits to extant theoretical ideas which can be brought to bear upon the emerging theory and in this sense complement the extant materials” (ibid).

The open-ended character of pre-coding, in which interview transcripts are simply marked or given a provisional name or label, indicates possibilities and potentials rather than fully formulated concepts. The analytical process is then developed by classifying sections and giving particular labels or names to the main points, thus helping the researcher “to become more familiar with what the findings include or contain and hence begin to define what is still missing and what, if possible, needs to be gathered or to become the object of search” (Layder, 1998: 56).

Tracking the development of codes, labels and emerging theory and the relationships among themes can be achieved through the use of memos (Ryan and Bernard, 2000). Theoretical memos include one-off entries about particular concepts or categories, and notes made on the actual transcript documents. The combination of these methods:

gives one an overview of the data and one’s analytical thinking on it ... indicates where one needs to fill-out information both to illustrate relatively well-honed theoretical ideas as well as to help fine-tune or structure ones that remain vague, ill-defined or inadequate in some way. (Layder, 1998: 60)

As discussed previously (Section 1.3), the philosophical paradigm in which this research is based acknowledges that there is no one, single version of truth or reality. The findings that emerged from the analysis process constitute what Silverman (2000) describes as “slicing the cake” (Silverman, 2000: 825). This initial process of identifying the main elements in the data according to extant theory then develops to link these elements together to go “beyond a list ... to show how the (theoretically defined) elements we have identified are assembled or mutually laminated” (Silverman, 2000: 828).

Although it is possible to use computers in the analysis of qualitative data, it is important to remember that “software can provide tools to help you analyze qualitative data, but it cannot do the analysis for you” (Weitzman, 2000: 805). In this study, field notes and interview transcripts were word-processed but software was not used for analysis. This was due to the researcher’s personal preference for reading hard copies of transcripts rather than on-screen images and making hand-written margin notes and memos whilst listening to the interview recording. This latter process enabling the researcher to identify the tone of language in which comments were made and recall the context in which the conversations took place, thus developing a feeling of immersion in the data.

The transcripts and detailed notes from each interview were coded by hand from the topics included in the interview schedule and topics added during the iterative data collection process. Comments of particular interest were highlighted and the researcher's initial thoughts noted in the margin of the transcript. Responses to each of the interview topics were then collated from the transcript: Appendix 2 illustrates the outcome of this process for Interview 11.

The initial codes were then expanded to include the range of responses given by business owners included in the developing theoretical sample. This process is illustrated in Table 2.2 and Table 2.3. As the data collection proceeded, charts were developed to compare each and topic by interview, bearing in mind that not all interviewees commented on all the issues included in the initial coding from the interview schedule (Table 2.4).

<b>Interview topic 5 code</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Code</b>
5a Opportunity structures	Market conditions Access to ownership	5a – marcon 5a – accown
5b Group characteristics	Predisposing factors Family resources Community resources	5b – predis 5b – famres 5b – comres
5c Business strategies	Family labour Co-ethnic labour Finance Markets Product diversification Market diversification	5c – famlab 5c – coethlab 5c – fin 5c – mar 5c – prodiv 5c – mardiv
5d Barriers to development	Competition Trading environment Business strategies Personal factors – age Personal factors – training Personal factors - motivation	5d – comp 5d – tradenv 5d – busstr 5d – age 5d – train 5d – motiv
5e Business assistance	Awareness Uptake Expectations	5e – awar 5e – uptake 5e – expect

**Table 2.2: Initial coding from theory – Interview topic 5: Ethnic strategies**

<b>Initial code</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Expanded code</b>
5e – aware	General awareness Named schemes Not aware	5e – aware/gen 5e – aware/names 5e – aware/no
5e – uptake	No Previous Current Possible in future	5e – uptake/no 5e – uptake/prev 5e – uptake/curr 5e – aware/poss
5e - expect	No use Not for micro business Costly Help in expansion plans	5e – expect/nouse 5e – expect/notmicro 5e – expect/cost 5e – expect/help

**Table 2.3: Expanded coding Interview topic 5e: Business assistance**

	<b>5e – expect/nouse</b>	<b>5e – expect/notmicro</b>	<b>5e – expect/cost</b>	<b>5e – expect/help</b>
<b>Int. 1</b>	Out of touch Do not understand ethnic business	Not for this sector	Too many forms	
<b>Int. 2</b>		Not really for small businesses	Cost time and money	No use at start-up but now used
<b>Int. 3</b>	Advice sought at start-up but seen as no use All talk but little help		Cost good investment to avoid problems	Would seek advice if planning to expand
<b>Int. 4</b>	Problems with inconsistent advice		Costs worthwhile investment	Actively seeking help for grants, training, finance and general assistance
<b>Int. 5</b>	Not used No knowledge of services available			Bank for initial loan only

**Table 2.4: Interview 1-5 responses to expanded code 5e – expect**

A descriptive analysis in the form of a thumbnail sketch of each business and its owner was then prepared (an example is given in Figure 2.4, and thumbnail sketches of the full research sample included in Appendix 3).

Member checks were conducted with a sample of 5 interviewees, during which the themes and issues included in the development of the thumbnail sketches were discussed with the individual concerned. Feedback from this process served to enhance the credibility, dependability and confirmability of the findings (see Section 2.6 below), deepen understanding of the issues identified and the coding process, and to facilitate the development of the theoretical sample as discussed above.

The key features that emerged from this process were then included in the sampling for following interviews and 'new' topics reviewed in the literature and added to the interview schedule.

## Interview 11

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Age 62.</p> <p>Born India – Pakistan as refugees following partition – electrician - Manchester 1962, age 22, Bradford University – father died so got job to support family in Pakistan – cotton mill – bus driver 12 years – Edinburgh late 1970s.</p> <p>Wife Pakistan – Manchester – married – 4 children – 2 girls (pharmacist in Leicester, food technician Edinburgh), 2 sons (BSc electronics now in shop, yr 3 computing Edinburgh).</p> <p>4 brothers and mother in Pakistan supported/educated from bus driving time in Manchester.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>Shop in Edinburgh – 3 more shops – closed all but 1 – shop of the year in 1981 - printing business – current shop since 1986.</p> <p>Aim to have chain of shops again but health now poor so up to sons to take further.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Family tendency to self-employment – tradition and surname ‘Landlord’ – all taken away as refugees so important to have something again – shop and dream home.</p> <p>High motivation for education – creates chance in life.</p> <p>Pride in success – confidence in ability, decision and hard work = success but need respect for others.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Business affected by big stores – bank attitude not helpful.</p> <p>Small business may survive if change to meet local demand but difficult to grow.</p> <p>Can be conflict between personal and community views and business approaches.</p> <p>Need to be of service to community, customers and family.</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Personal finance used – no family or friends in UK.</p> <p>Mainstream and co-ethnic staff in shops some lack of trust.</p> <p>Family decision for son to give up career and take over business.</p> <p>Bank finance now used – overcome initial language/race issues once businesses expand and for house purchase.</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>All children educated – should have careers but poor health limits ability to keep shop going. Family decision that older son now involved in shop and taking over decision making.</p> <p>Younger son works in shop to fit round studies but will become more involved in future – daughters married so no longer involved in family business but with in-laws.</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>Intend to stay independent – likes control over development and product diversity and use of local suppliers, setting own prices and merchandising etc.</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>Thriving business – all family involved, including daughter-in-law.</p>

**Figure 2.4: Thumbnail sketch of Interview 11**

The findings from this constant comparison analysis process were summarised and charted (see Appendix 4), to form the basis for the rich description of the topics, illustrated with quotes from the interview notes and transcripts to support the claims of the researcher, which are presented in Chapter 4: Fieldwork Findings.

The interaction of these issues and emerging themes are presented in Chapter 5: Emerging Themes.

Key topics that emerged from this process - motivation for self-employment, influence of culture and tradition, and generation attitudes and aspirations - were reviewed in depth in the appropriate literature to build on understandings gained in the development of the sensitising concepts phase of the study (see Chapter 6: Second Stage Literature Review). These form the basis of the discussion which, in turn, underpins the development of new theories of the interaction of the internal factors influencing the business community being studied (Chapter 7: Theory Development) and the development of a descriptive model of the research focus (Chapter 8: Conclusion).

## **2.6 Limitations – internal and external validity and reliability**

Criticisms of the constructivist paradigm and qualitative research are that the findings generated are, by definition, difficult to measure or prove by statistical tests, but reliant largely on the inductive (internal) thought processes of the researcher. Quantitative research relies on the use of appropriate larger sample sizes, random selection techniques and statistical correlations to ensure findings are accepted as valid, reliable and generalisable to the wider research population. In contrast, Stenbacka (2001) suggests that in qualitative research, as used in this study, there are four generally accepted quality concepts: those of validity, reliability, generalisability and carefulness.

Statistical validity is replaced by the need to ensure that data collected is “good data ... providing the information needed according to the purpose ... understanding another person’s reality based on a specific problem area ... achieved when using non-forcing interviews with well-chosen informants” (Stenbacka, 2001: 552).

Reliability, or the ability to produce the same research result over and over again, is less relevant to qualitative research due to the unique relationship between the researcher, data generation and interpretation (Stenbacka, 2001). Instead, Marshall and Rossman (1995) and Appleton (1995) contend that validity and reliability can be claimed in qualitative research if the findings are auditable through the establishment of a clear ‘decision trail’ throughout the data collection, analysis and discussion process. To enhance this aspect of the research, a paper trail is included in the appendices. This incorporates an example of an interview transcript and the related initial analysis, thumbnail sketches of the final research sample, and summaries of the empirical findings by interview topic.

The unrepresentative nature of qualitative research sampling has implications for the generalisability of research findings to the wider population. This is particularly relevant when conducting adaptive grounded theory research that, as discussed earlier, is concerned with widening understanding of a particular phenomenon rather than identifying universal truths (Layder, 1998).

Carefulness, according to Stenbacka (2001) can be claimed if the research is conducted in a systematic way, grounded in empirical data, and the process described in the presentation of the study.

Further to these comments, Riege (2003) claims that qualitative research needs criteria of its own that are compatible with the constructivist paradigm. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that appropriate criteria are credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability. These criteria apply throughout all stages of the research process and the conceptual underpinnings and the practical research experience of this study are presented below.

### **Credibility**

According to Riege (2003), credibility is the parallel construct to internal validity and “involves the approval of research findings by either interviewees or peers as realities may be interpreted in multiple ways” (2003: 81). Similarly, Marshall and Rossman (1995) note that credible qualitative research findings reveal accurate descriptions immediately recognisable by individuals with similar experiences.

Riege (2003) suggests that such credibility can be established by the use of multiple sources of evidence and methods during the data collection and analysis phase of the research. This is reinforced by peer debriefing, in which data analysis and conclusions are presented to colleagues on a regular basis throughout the course of the study. In this review process, fellow researchers examine the data collected and analysis made as described in the decision trail before confirming or rejecting the conclusions reached, establishing what Silverman (1993) calls inter-rater reliability. According to Riege (2003) credibility is further enhanced by the use of member checks, when findings and conclusions are presented to individuals included in the research sample and taking their reactions into account during the writing up stage of the study. In addition, the credibility of research findings can be claimed if the research design takes into account the researcher's assumptions and world view, is theoretically orientated, and opportunity is made for the research process to be auditable at each stage of the research process.

In this study, the adaptive grounded theory methodology (Layder, 1998) upon which the study is based calls for the researcher to address personal assumptions, address extant theory and the use of iterative approach to data collection and analysis at all stages in the inquiry process. In addition, the research process adopted incorporates and encourages opportunities for the use of multiple methods.

The main technique used to establish credibility for the fieldwork findings was that of member checks. As noted in Section 2.5 above, detailed descriptions of five businesses were prepared following the initial analysis process. These descriptions were presented to the interviewee and discussed at length, comments made being taken into account when drawing conclusions from the full research sample. The five businesses chosen for this process were those who were willing to hold a second meeting, had an active interest in the research, and indicated an understanding of the theoretical aspects of the study. The interviewees were numbers 2, 4, 7, 11 and 20. Three of the second meetings were conducted face to face (2, 7 and 11) and the other two (4 and 20) by telephone. The conversations were not recorded but notes taken. In each case the interviewees approved of the descriptions developed of the factors influencing their particular business and agreed with the broad findings presented at



the various stages of the expanding research sample. Second meetings took place soon after the initial interview and comments reflected in the subsequent data collection and analysis process.

### **Confirmability**

Confirmability corresponds to the positivist notion of neutrality and objectivity, and “assesses whether the interpretation of data is drawn in a logical and unprejudiced manner ... the extent to which the conclusions drawn are the most reasonable ones to obtain from the data” (Riege, 2003: 81). A confirmability audit during the data collection and analysis phase of the research examines raw data, findings, interpretations and recommendations. It is suggested that all raw data including field notes, tapes and documents are retained for inspection at any stage of the research process to assist the auditor to judge the logic of deductions made from the data and to check the quality of findings and interpretations (Riege, 2003: 83).

In this study, details of each contact with background interviewees and business owners included in the final research sample were kept. Field notes, tapes, transcripts, memos and summaries of interviews made at each stage of the coding process were kept. These documents were audited as part of the techniques to establish credibility discusses above.

In addition, two PhD research peers involved in small business qualitative research in different industry sectors were given the range of data (field notes, transcripts and initial analysis summaries) from two different interviews. They audited the research process and, in both cases, agreed that conclusions drawn were credible. Comments made on the range and development of sensitising concepts, analysis development and presentation of summaries were noted and incorporated in subsequent interviews. A similar process was followed with the Director of Studies, both internal supervisors and an external advisor.

Due to the extended period between data collection and completion of the thesis, a return observational visit to each business premises was made in autumn 2007. Stores that remained in business and under the same apparent ownership were noted. New enterprise operators were asked informally when and what changes had taken

place, and reasons for closed premises were explored with local businesses or residents. The findings of these observational visits are included in the thumbnail sketches (Appendix 3).

### **Transferability**

Transferability is the extent to which findings can be generalised to the wider research population. This is possible when “the research shows similar or different findings of a phenomenon amongst similar or different respondents” (Riege, 2003: 81). The extent of transferability, or generalisability, is dependent on the findings presented including sufficient rich description for potential for transferability to other examples in the research sample selected, and the findings being “congruent with, connected to, or confirmatory of prior theory” (ibid). This can be enhanced by the use of cross-case analysis and the use of specific procedures for coding and analysis to allow other researchers to seek for similar findings in future empirical studies.

The methodology used in this study bases the empirical data collection firmly in extant theory. As discussed previously in this chapter, the iterative nature of adaptive grounded theory requires the researcher to return to theory at all stages of the research process. The use of constant comparison analysis identifies similarities and differences between respondents and the coding developed allows earlier interview transcripts to be reviewed in the light of newly emerging topics at all stages of the research sample development.

Comments emerging in any one particular interview that appeared inconsistent with background information, extant theory or the wider range of respondents were then examined in detail and questioned more thoroughly in subsequent interviews and member-checks. Indeed, the sample was only regarded as complete when no new topics or categories emerged and saturation was achieved.

While it is not claimed that the findings of this exploratory research fieldwork are transferable to the wider ethnic minority owned convenience store sector, the research approach used suggests transferability of the main findings to members of the Edinburgh Pakistani community involved in independent convenience store

ownership. In addition, these findings may assist the design of further research into business approaches in a range of sectors, minority communities and locations.

### **Dependability**

The notion of reliability in research equates to the criteria of dependability that indicates “stability and consistency in the process of inquiry” (Riege, 2003: 81). This is enhanced by congruence between research issues and the study design, concrete records of observations and actions, the use of a semi-structured research protocol, recording of interviews, the use of multiple researchers and the use of peer reviews.

This supports the views of Guy (1999), and O'Donnell and Cummins (1999), who suggest that the validity and reliability of conclusions drawn from the research process is enhanced by the use of a mix of methods of data collection and analysis techniques. With the exception of the use of multiple researchers, these issues underpin the entire research process presented in this chapter.

The study design is compatible with the research paradigm and related epistemology, ontology and methodology within which the empirical study is based. The established audit trail records all stages of the research process (extant theory, background interviews, main data collection transcripts and field notes, analysis development summaries, and coding templates) enables peer-, inter-rater, and member-checks to take place throughout the process.

Although open ended in nature, the interview topics emerging from the development of sensitising concepts and themes emerging during the data collection and analysis process provide a structure upon which to build the recorded conversations with individual respondents.

The solitary nature of doctoral research places the emphasis on the solo researcher. This has advantages as it enhances consistency in the conduct of data collection and analysis procedures. The disadvantage of a potentially narrow view of emerging findings is reduced by the auditing processes described above.

A further feature, and associated impact on dependability, of the empirical study, is the interaction of the researcher and respondents. Personality, gender and ethnicity

factors impact on the negotiation process for participation in the study. Interviewing skills and the ability to develop trust in a short time are essential for the respondent to relax and talk freely about personal feelings and experiences. As a result, some interviews appear more fruitful than others, although those that last longest do not necessarily provide more insights than the short, concise conversations. Again, the tests for credibility, confirmability and transferability outlined above minimise the impact of these factors on the dependability of the research findings as far as is possible.

## **2.7 Summary**

The previous chapter established a constructivist paradigm as the philosophical base for the study into the range and interaction of internal factors impacting on the development of convenience stores owned by members of the Edinburgh South Asian community. This chapter identified an appropriate methodology and research methods for use in the study and it described the fieldwork research experience.

The rationale for use of adaptive grounded theory methodology (Layder, 1994; 1998), and use of the research process proposed by O'Donnell and Cummins (1999) was justified. The combination of deductive and inductive approaches used throughout the study mirrors the cyclical approach of constant comparison analysis and ongoing theoretical exploration of emerging new and key concepts at the core of adaptive grounded theory. Throughout the study attention was paid to credibility, confirmability, transferability and dependability issues to assist in the evaluation of the study.

## **Chapter 3: INITIAL LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **3.1 Broad sensitising concepts**

### **3.2 Small and micro business theory**

Definition of small and medium enterprises

Economic importance

Assistance available to SMEs

Internal and external business challenges

Characteristics of micro-enterprises and the centrality of the business owner

### **3.3 Convenience store and small, independent retail businesses in Scotland**

The role of small independent retail outlets

Advantages and disadvantages of small retail businesses and c-stores

### **3.4 Internal influences on small and micro business activity**

Psychological characteristics

Experiential characteristics

Personal characteristics

### **3.5 Ethnic minority business research**

United Kingdom South Asian business development

Opportunity structures of ethnic minority business strategies

Group characteristics of South Asian SME owner-managers

South Asian SME business strategies

### **3.6 Scottish South Asian SMEs**

### **3.7 Additional topics emerging during data collection/analysis process**

Symbol group membership

Generational issues

### **3.8 Summary of sensitising topics**

Small businesses

Internal and external business influences

Centrality and characteristics of micro-business owners

Ethnic minority businesses

Symbol group membership

Generational issues

### **3.9 Development of interview schedule**



As indicated by Layder's adaptive grounded theory methodology (1993; 1998), data and theory generation are closely intertwined. Before commencing the study of a particular topic it is essential to address existing theory on both the topic in question and any number of potentially related subjects. This allows one to "use a background or sensitizing concept in order to give some provisional organization to the data, as well as to suggest further theoretical ideas" (Layder, 1993: 206). This initial literature review provides a theoretical, conceptual base for data collection and analysis processes (see Section 2.5) of the research project. As earlier discussed (Section 2.1), it allows constant comparison with similar groups and situations, facilitates the identification of similarities or differences between the topic in question and similar comparable phenomena, and aids the identification and exploration of preconceptions and prejudices.

Broad sensitising concepts of the fieldwork are identified through background interviews with members of the South Asian communities and Edinburgh's business support providers, plus reading. The emergent themes are reviewed by the literature, thus providing the base for initial data collection interviews. These themes are presented in this initial literature review. Additional topics and themes that emerge during this process are reviewed in the literature for inclusion in subsequent fieldwork. The total of these topics form the base for the initial coding and analysis, with primary emerging themes evaluated closely in order to proceed to the final conceptual development stage of the thesis.

The references used in this initial literature review serve a range of purposes. While some sources may appear dated, they are included to give the background to current research and, in addition, indicate the limited knowledge of ethnic minority micro business issues in the UK at the commencement of the study. The academic interest in and the resulting increased understanding of these topics is reflected in the wider range of literature published since the start of this study. This more in-depth exploration of the key emerging themes, and further understanding of the issues gained from literature published during the extended study period is presented in Chapter 6: Second Stage Literature Review. In particular, this focuses on the three emerging themes: succession planning and generational issues, motivation for business start-up and continuation, and the role of tradition, religion and culture.

### 3.1 Broad sensitising concepts

Essentially, the thesis explores the contention that convenience stores play an important role in inner city communities – both economically and socially – despite an increasingly threatening business environment (Baron et al., 2001; Chaudhry and Crick, 2003). This is particularly the case in Edinburgh. Despite the development of both private and public sector business support initiatives, there is evidence that throughout the sector in Edinburgh there is little awareness of, or uptake of, the wide range of business advice and intervention schemes available (Bent et al., 1999; Deakins et al., 2005; Emslie and Bent, 2007). This may be because, as argued by Culkin and Smith (2000), “much UK government intervention ... designed to improve the effectiveness of the small firm sector, is based on a flawed understanding of how small firms actually work” (2000: 145) and that this may be due to a “naïve, over-simplistic understanding of the motivation of those in the small firm sector” (ibid).

The primary aim of the fieldwork is to increase understanding of the nature of the South Asian small retail business sector in Edinburgh, and the relative importance of localised external barriers to business success and the internal barriers to development related to the nature of the South Asian owner-manager (these factors are summarised in Figure 3.1). This will, in turn, assist business support providers to develop products more suited to the sector in question, especially, but not exclusively, as these relate to Edinburgh.

<b>External factors</b>	<b>Internal factors</b>
Changes in the UK economy	Motivation for self-employment
Changes in the extent of economies of scale	Previous business experience of owner-manager
Changes in government and local authority policy towards small firms	Skills training and educational background of owner-manager
Private sector initiatives to assist small firms	Influence of role models in the family
Technological advances	Influence of role models in the community
Demographic changes	Influence of cultural or religious values

**Figure 3.1: External and internal factors affecting small and micro businesses**  
(Storey, 1994: 112-159; Basu and Goswami, 1999: 271-2)



Although there is no single definition of a small firm, the small business sector is a vital part of the United Kingdom (UK) economy. In 1998 (the figures available at the start of the study), over 2.3 million businesses in the UK were either sole traders or partners without employees. Businesses with less than 50 employees made up more than 99% of all UK businesses, contributed to 45% of employment and 38% to national turnover (Department for Education and Employment (DfEE), 2000: 17). Although the number of enterprises has risen (4.5 million in 2006), the percentage of business, employment and national turnover remain largely unaltered (ONS, 2008). These small and medium enterprises (SMEs) are, according to Lauder, Boocock and Presley (1994), more responsive to market demands and are perceived as an important means of job creation, with the implicit assumption that they are, therefore, vital for the health of the economy. In addition family businesses “provide a critical infrastructure for economic activity and wealth creation” (Poutziouris, Steier and Smyrnios, 2004), with the family being “the oxygen that feeds the fire of entrepreneurship” (Rogoff and Heck, 2003: 559 in Kirkwood, 2007).

Small-scale retailing is a traditional characteristic of industrialised economies. In many countries, retailing is one of the main outlets for entrepreneurial talent, due in part to the absence of entry barriers other than the availability of capital to purchase the business. In the 1980s typical independent, single retail outlets in the UK were “small, unprofitable businesses employing few, if any, staff and generating low returns on investment” (Kirby, 1986:163). However, Kirby (1986) noted that there appeared to be a limited understanding by owner managers of the working of and problems involved in owning a small business, result in a high level of business failure and bankruptcy in the sector. The patterns of economic and political change in the UK (included periods of boom and recession, and Conservative and Labour governments) have offered opportunities for business start-up as an alternative to unemployment. In addition, these changes have placed increasing pressure on businesses, with smaller firms experiencing difficulties during the first three years of existence following start-up (O’Dwyer and Ryan, 2000).

In the UK the majority (approximately two thirds) of convenience stores of all types are owned and managed by individuals from ethnic minority community

backgrounds (Gidoomal, 1997). Although no finite statistics are available, it is estimated that, in 1997, 61% of the small retail businesses in Edinburgh were owned by members of the ethnic minority community, 48% of who were of South Asian origin (ECCEEEEC, 1997; Wallace, 1999) – this proportion being supported by the findings of Deakins et al. (2005) and Dassler et al. (2007). As stated previously (Section 1.1) the term ‘South Asia’ is used to residents in the City who regard themselves as having family origins in India, Pakistan or Bangladesh. Immigration may have been direct or indirect and the community is now into second, third and even fourth generations of UK residence.

Academic research into small and medium size enterprises has identified the characteristics of these businesses that distinguish them from larger enterprises. The implications of the centrality of the owner-manager - and the individual’s motivation for business activity, education and experience, access to resources and ethnicity - and influence these factors have on business survival and development is seen as key to understanding the small business sector by Bolton (1971), Stanworth, Stanworth, Granger and Blyth (1989), Bridge, O’Neill and Cromie (1998) and more recent studies by, for example but not exclusively, Spence and Rutherford (2001), Chaudhry and Crick (2003), Basu (2004), Dhaliwal and Kangis (2006), Hussain and Matlay (2007), Kirkwood (2007), and Altinay and Altinay (2008).

The rapid increase in the numbers of the ethnic minority owned small independent retail enterprises in recent years, resulting from first generation migrants moving from low-level employment and a sojourner mentality to self-employment and established family UK settlement, implies a need for empirical research into the characteristics peculiar to these businesses and their owner-managers. These immigrant communities include people “who belong to many races and people groups, many religions and many social backgrounds” (Gidoomal, 1997: 5), and have been the focus of academic research in a variety of sectors and communities (McEvoy and Aldrich, 1986; Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990; Gidoomal, 1997; Ram, 1997; Deakins et al., 1997; Anderson, Drakopoulou-Dodd and Scott, 2000; Barrett, Jones and McEvoy, 2001; Janjuha-Jivraj and Woods, 2002). The importance of such

economic activity in the Scottish context is stressed by the more recent studies conducted by Deakins et al. (2005) and Dassler et al. (2007).

In accordance with adaptive grounded theory methodology adopted for the study (Layder, 1993; 1998), the following literature review develops the broad sensitising concepts outlined above. This process enables a conceptual framework for the empirical fieldwork stage of the research to be established. The themes emerging from the fieldwork are explored in more detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

Small and micro business theory literature is used to develop a definition of, highlight the importance of, and outline assistance available to small and micro enterprises. The characteristics of such enterprises and the centrality of the individual business owner are explored and internal and external influences on business development and success are identified. Convenience store and small independent retail business research is explored to identify the business features and external influences on the business environment particular to the sector. Internal influences on the response to these external factors are identified in an overview of literature concerning motivation for self employment, family business and the influence of religion and culture on business activity. Ethnic minority business research is reviewed to identify the differing features of small business activity in large, medium and smaller minority communities. Finally an understanding of features of the Scottish South Asian SME sector is developed.

The conceptual frameworks emerging from this review process identify key issues, problems and alternative business approaches leading to the development of interview topics to be explored in the empirical fieldwork phase of the study.

### **3.2 Small and micro business theory**

This research is concerned with the identification of, and exploration of the interaction of, internal barriers and related factors influencing the development of South Asian owned convenience stores in Edinburgh. Such businesses, by nature, employ relatively few staff and have low levels of turnover, and in order to develop a generic understanding of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) this section will map the development of definitions of SMEs; highlight the economic importance of

SMEs in the UK and Scotland; outline assistance available to SMEs; indicate external generic economic factors and internal factors specific to the individual owner-manager that challenge business success and development; and identify characteristics of small and micro enterprises and the centrality of the individual business owner

### **Definition of small and medium enterprises**

Although small businesses are by no means a new phenomenon, there is limited information available about the SME sector of the UK economy prior to 1971, despite the rapid growth of the sector during the post-war period and the increasing awareness of the economic and social importance of such activity created. The establishment of the Bolton Committee of Inquiry on Small Firms (Bolton) in that year aimed to develop a definition that “emphasised those characteristics of small firms which might be expected to make their performance and their problems significantly different from those of larger firms” (Bolton, 1971:1).

Three main characteristics taken into account are economic (a small firm has a relatively small share of its market), management (a small firm is managed by its owners in a personalised way, not through formalised management structures), and independence (a small firm does not form part of a larger enterprise and principle decision making by managers is free from outside control).

The grounded theory, qualitative approach to statistical and descriptive characteristics adopted by Bolton defines the small firm sector by industry, statistical definition, percentage of all firms in the industry, proportion of total employment in small firms, and average employment.

Continuing investigation into the nature of small firms during the 1970s suggests that small firms are not a homogeneous entity, but are subject to specific influences dependent on the industry and community in which the enterprise operated. Although no one definition of the small firm is applicable to all sectors of the economy, small enterprises are identified as a viable form of economic activity, being “both economically and organisationally superior to the larger enterprise (and) performed a ‘seed bed’ function for the economy in the necessary process of economic

regeneration which goes on all the time in a vital economy” (Curran and Stanworth, 1982:21).

The increasing awareness of this diversity within the SME sector leads to a number of definitions being developed that reflect current economic contexts. The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) definition is based on employee numbers whilst European Commission and Companies Act definitions are based on a combination of employee numbers, turnover and balance sheet factors.

### **Economic importance**

Whilst the following analysis of available statistics provides an insight into the importance of SMEs to the economy, it is important to note that these figures can only give an indication of the economic importance and cannot be regarded as an accurate, full picture. This is because they are obtained from VAT registrations, and many new businesses and self employed workers fall below VAT threshold levels, and, therefore, are not included in the figures.

Since the 1970s in the UK there has been a rapid rise in the overall number of SMEs and a related rise in their share of employment. SMEs are a feature of the economy in all regions of the UK, providing the highest proportion of employment in Northern Ireland, Wales and the South West of England, the lowest share being in London and the East Midlands.

In particular the number of enterprises employing less than 10 employees (micro enterprises) almost doubled in the 1980s, and has continued to increase to the estimated figure of 4.5 million (99.3% of the total UK enterprises) in 2006 (ONS, 2008). It is suggested that initial growth may, in part, have been due to the economic restructuring during the early 1980s that resulted in employees being faced with redundancy. The related cash settlements and limited opportunities for retraining may have been an important factor in the increased level of self-employment and new business start-up (Lauder, Boocock and Presley, 1994; Deakins, 1999). However, more recent studies suggest that a desire for autonomy (van Gelderen and Jansen, 2006), planned business succession (Ip and Jacobs, 2006) and factors linked

to family, gender, generation and ethnicity (Basu, 2004; Dhaliwal and Kangis, 2006; Kirkwood, 2007) play an increasing role in the business entry decision.

A breakdown of the UK figures for micro-enterprise in 1998 (the most recent statistics available at the commencement of the study) shows that an overall majority of businesses (64%) claim not to have any paid employees, these enterprises accounting for 12.7% of all employment in the UK (Lauder et al., 1994; Deakins, 1999; DfEE, 2000) – proportions largely unchanged in 2006 (ONS, 2008).

The number of enterprises with less than 49 employees in Scotland in 1999 accounted for 98% of all registered private sector businesses, providing an average of 44% of employment across the industrial sectors identified and generating 33% of the total private sector income (Scottish Executive, 2001). Interestingly, an awareness of the economic importance of small and micro enterprise activity in Scotland is increased when the 0 - 49 employee sector is analysed further, indicating that the largest majority (65%) do not have any employees and operate as sole proprietors or partnerships (Scottish Executive, 2001). Once again, these percentages remain relatively similar in 2006 (ONS, 2008).

### **Assistance available to SMEs**

The recommendations of the Bolton (1971) report are that small firms form a vital part of the economy and must, therefore, be given help and support at government level to ensure the continued development of the sector. Sources of help for small business owners fall into five main classifications: professional advisers – accountants, solicitors, and bank managers; trade associations, chambers of commerce, and other representative bodies; management consultants; universities and research associations; and government departments and bodies sponsored by them. The Inquiry shows that sources of help most likely to be called upon are localised and familiar in order to overcome the two main barriers: hostility to the suggestion that assistance may be needed and lack of awareness of the sources of help available (Bolton, 1971).

In the decades since Bolton there has been a continuing recognition of the need to identify barriers to the start up of new small businesses, increase incentives to do so, and understand the financial problems associated with business start up. Business support in the UK has tended to focus on short-term, start-up funding and planning assistance, although in Scotland there are additional schemes to support longer-term, higher-risk business activity. It is suggested that in order for support to be effective it is necessary both to develop a challenging, supportive business environment based on inclusive business networks and visible, accessible role models, and to assist individuals to acknowledge previous experiences and widen their skills base to create a foundation upon which to build future business developments (Scott 1999). In addition, support should be differentiated and marketed proactively to specific ethnic and business sectors (Emslie and Bent, 2007).

For this help and support to be both effective and an efficient use of public money there is a need to understand the nature and characteristics of SMEs and the business challenges, and appropriate responses, facing particular sectors of the economy, such as convenience stores at the centre of this study. Assistance can then be designed to be perceived as needed, appropriate and accessible to the retail sector, thereby meeting the aims of the UK policy of “maintaining a healthy and competitive SME sector within a free-market economy” (Lauder, Boocock and Presley, 1994:10).

Since the Bolton Committee Report, academic research has been conducted with this aim of improving understanding of the nature of the generic small and micro business sector, with relatively little focus on c-stores. Thus in this context the emerging aspects seen as relevant to this research are summarised below.

### **Internal and external business challenges**

Small and micro business research since the 1971 Bolton Committee report suggests that the factors affecting the success and development of small and micro enterprises in general can be summarised as external generic economic factors and internal factors specific to the individual owner-manager (see Figure 3.1 above).

A number of external factors impacted upon the growth of micro-enterprises in the 1980s and 1990s. This included structural changes in the UK economy, notably the decline of manufacturing and the rapid expansion of the service sector and changes in economies of scale associated with technological advances which suit smaller-scale production. The ability of smaller firms to both respond more quickly to market opportunities enabled them to be specialised and flexible to meet customer requirements, while changes in government policy fostered an enterprise culture that combined with changes in macro-economic policy resulting in taxation changes in favour of small firms. In addition, private sector sponsorship of new enterprise initiatives, an increased awareness of the importance of small firms at a local level due to changes in local authority policy, the contracting out of public sector services, and high unemployment rates and associated redundancy payments in the 1980s encouraged workers to enter self employment (Deakins, 1999).

However, Byrom, Harris and Parker (2000) suggest that the key to retail business success is the extent of the store owner-manager's awareness both of the changes taking place in the business environment and the need for training and business support to meet these challenges, an argument supported by Chaudhry and Crick (2003). For national and local policy and private sector initiatives to be successfully targeted to have a positive impact on these economically and socially important business activities it is necessary to develop an understanding of the internal and external factors present in any one particular location or sector, for example, the retail and c-store Edinburgh Asian dimension, the focus of this study.

### **Characteristics of micro enterprises and the centrality of the business owner**

Research into the UK business sector carried out over the past thirty years has identified the peculiar nature of SMEs, most notably that "small businesses are not big businesses writ small, and concepts, theories, practice, forms of behaviour and interventions that apply to big businesses and their management will not necessarily apply on a small scale to them" (Bridge, O'Neill and Cromie, 1998:136).

The base for this research is, once more, the Bolton Inquiry (1971) identification of five common characteristics of small firms arising from factors of legal status, ownership, management and organisation, financial structure, their role as



employers, the motivations and social origins of business owners, and their role in the community. The Inquiry report concludes that these small businesses provide a wide range of choice and a high level of personal service to consumers that can not be offered by larger concerns. Small businesses are also seen as providing practical people to serve in the community through involvement in local government, charitable and social organisations, these factors being of equal or greater importance than simply the economic activity generated.

Since the publication of the Bolton Report, UK empirical research has attempted to define the distinctive characteristics of small and micro businesses that differentiate such enterprises from larger organisations. The findings of this work are summarised by Bridge, O'Neill and Cromie (1998) as being a combination of the following five features: an absence of functional, professionally trained managers; on-the-job learning; a reliance on personal finances for investment and resources; the owner's identification with the business; and the values embodied in the business will be those of the owner-manager and influenced by their support network based on personal friends and family, business contacts, the business community, and established support networks.

Together, the above findings suggest strongly that the success or otherwise of the small business is dependent on the culture, skills and experience of the individual owner-manager. This has implications for management style and development, recruitment, employee relations, and development and training,

Empirical research conducted by Matlay (1999) shows that of the retail owner-managers questioned 91.5% of micro and 68% of small businesses preferred an informal management style. This is based on an organisation with few vertical hierarchical structures and formal communication systems, and relies on the development of an organisational culture in which all involved in the business work together without a perceived need for formal procedures. However, the difficulties faced by small and micro enterprises, particularly in the early years of the business, are often related to the limited formal business experience of the owner-manager and the influences of family and community networks and role models. Any development

of the managerial skills of the owner-manager will have a direct effect on the objectives, strategies and development of the enterprise. The main difficulties are that the people involved in running such an enterprise may not see the need for, or have the time and financial resources available to take up formal management training. It may, therefore, be necessary for those offering external assistance to small and micro enterprises identified previously to design training and development opportunities more geared to the specific needs of those who have most to gain (Dhaliwal, 2000; O'Dwyer and Ryan, 2000; Greenbank, 2001; Byrom, Harris and Parker, 2002; Basu, 2004; Beaver and Jennings, 2005; Kirkwood, 2007).

Matlay (1999) further suggests that the most frequently used recruitment method in small and micro enterprises is that of involving family, friends, associates and contacts developed through existing or former employees. The implications of such informal recruitment practices are that those employed may not be the best skilled or experienced workforce available from the local labour market. This disadvantage is offset by the resources saved in avoiding other recruitment channels, including advertising costs, time for interviews and the need to solicit and follow up references.

In micro businesses in particular (those with less than 10 employees), family members are the main source of paid or unpaid labour (Baines and Wheelock, 1998). The extent to which this involvement with the business is chosen or simply an expectation shapes the motivation of second and third generations (sons, daughters, nephews, cousins etc.) involved in the day-to-day operation of such enterprises and impact on succession planning. If well planned and managed, this builds a smooth transition of the business from one generation to the next. If family involvement is simply presumed, tensions develop, communication breaks down, and the business is much less likely to survive beyond the first generation (Morris, Williams and Nel, 1996; Basu, 2004; Ip and Jacobs, 2006).

According to Matlay (1999), the small scale and close involvement of the owner-manager in all aspects of the business tends to minimise the employee relations difficulties often more evident in larger organisations. Pay and conditions are more

easily negotiated with small numbers of staff and the informal management style encourages early identification of potential complaints or grievances.

In order to maintain and improve competitiveness, it is vital to continue to develop the relevant staff skills and competencies (technical, intellectual or interpersonal and overt or tacit communication skills) according to the sector in which the enterprise operates. However, many micro-business owner-managers “view training as something that happens when necessary and not as part and parcel of a continuous skills development” (Lange, Ottens and Taylor, 2000:7) and this factor is particularly relevant to the small, independent retail sector (Byrom, Harris and Parker, 2002). While this may be due to a lack of strategic thinking, it may also be the result of a combination of factors including: cultural barriers related to the organisational structure of SMEs, the personality and experience of the individual owner-manager and the level and range of skills needed; financial barriers linked to economies of scale that prevent small retail enterprises having sufficient funding for training initiatives which may lead to staff with transferable skills moving to other companies; access and provision barriers related to the availability of relevant formal training programmes; and cultural and technical awareness barriers associated with both owner-manager’s lack of understanding of the need for and availability of skill and knowledge training initiatives and limited perceptions of the value of such programmes (Lange, Ottens and Taylor, 2000; Deakins et al., 2005; Altinay and Altinay, 2008).

### **3.3 Convenience stores and small, independent retail businesses in Scotland**

As noted above, there is no one, simple definition of a ‘small business’ and the characteristics of such enterprises varies from sector to sector. This study focuses on the independent small retail sector, particularly the convenience store sector in Edinburgh, and the involvement of the South Asian community in business ownership, management, and organisation of services.

Although the typical small independent retail business involves long working hours, meagre profits, inadequate cash reserves and high rates of business failure, there are many examples of successful enterprises, notably the apparent success of Asian

immigrants to the UK in small-scale retailing (Kirby, 1986, Gidoomal, 1997; Chaudhry and Crick, 2003). While it is suggested that this may be due to the owner-manager being prepared to make short-term sacrifices in order to enjoy comparative benefits, the reality is that a minority simply changing from being a 'marginal worker' to being a 'marginal proprietor'. This is seen as being the corollary of changing retail patterns, the low barriers to business entry, and internal and external factors related to the background of the owner-manager and wider economic pressures (Aldrich, Jones and McEvoy, 1984).

In order to develop the sensitising concepts driving the data collection phase of the research project, this section examines the independent retail sector in Scotland and identifies: the role of small independent retail outlets; the trading advantages and difficulties experienced by small independent retail businesses and convenience stores; and the nature of the independent convenience store sector in Edinburgh

### **The role of small independent retail outlets**

According to Smith and Sparks (1997, 1998, 2000), the role of small shops is a combination of factors including: providing consumers with a supply of products and services; creating diversity, 'colour' and choice; allowing for business dynamism and local adaptation; creating economic linkages between businesses; and encouraging employment generation and maintenance.

Small shops are used in a variety of ways depending on their situation and services offered, for example convenience stores or outlets offering specialised products and services unavailable elsewhere in the area. The presence of specialist retailers offering non-standard shop formats and merchandise, as well as distinctive products and price variation, provides a contrast to the increasing dominance of large high street chains and shopping centres. The ease of entry to and exit from the independent retail sector provides the opportunity for the development of new ideas, as a response to the need for business to reflect the localised nature of the service requirements of customers. In addition, the dependence of small, independent retailers on localised sources of supply of stocks and business related services may influence the extent and importance of local business networks.

Independent shops are both an important avenue of entrepreneurial activity and self-employment and also provide employment for family members. In addition, in some rural locations the small shop may act as a focus for the community rather than simply providing goods and services (Smith and Sparks, 1997, 1998, 2000).

### **Advantages and disadvantages of small retail business and convenience stores**

The advantages of small independent retailers are recognised as being similar to those of small and micro enterprises in general. The fact that they are closer to their customers and able to adapt and change quicker than larger organisations should give the businesses a competitive edge over larger companies. Even with the change in retail patterns from local shopping areas to out of town centres and 24 hour opening, small independent retailers can still find and fill a market niche by giving value added services and specialist goods (Bent et al., 1999; Baron et al., 2001; Chaudhry and Crick, 2003).

However, Kirby (1986), Smith and Sparks (1997; 1998; 2000), Baron et al. (2001), Barrett, Jones and McEvoy (2001) and Chaudhry and Crick (2003) identify the business difficulties facing small retail business and convenience stores as being primarily due to three interacting factors: inadequacies in the trading environment primarily due to economic and social change, competition from multiple retailers and locational difficulties; demographic changes leading to the situation in which there is an insufficient population to support the number of retail outlets in a particular catchment area; and social change affecting the needs and behaviour of consumers resulting in independent retailers being faced with secondary, poor locations and increased competition from large stores and chains.

The situation is also affected by increased traffic congestion, parking restrictions in urban areas, and rising petrol costs impinging on customers' willingness to travel to specialist outlets. Increased competition is generated by the expansion into the retail sector by businesses that previously focused on other activity e.g. the expansion of petrol forecourt retail outlets. Similarly, the traditional 'open all hours' convenience of the small independent shop is being undermined by the longer opening hours of supermarkets, up to twenty-four hours in some areas, resulting in increased competition for customers. While always relevant, these factors are particularly

pertinent to this research due to the rapid economic decline experienced in the latter stages of the extended timeframe of the study, and on-going large-scale, long-term road and transport developments throughout Edinburgh.

Business success is also threatened by the combination of a range of factors including: inadequacies in the trading form (operating costs, scale economies and resulting uncompetitive pricing), changing customer expectations, the need to keep abreast of technological change, increasing demands on capital investment, and inadequacies in managerial form arising from the age, education, experience and managerial skills of the owner/manager.

Although the success of a small business is largely dependent on personal and family commitment and skill, appropriate training and advice may enhance the potential for development. The motivation of the owner-manager may also be impacted upon by age, reasons for business entry and issues related to business succession (Mazzarol, Volery, Doss and Thein, 1999; Unis and Ingram, 2003; Basu, 2004; Beaver and Jennings, 2005; Ip and Jacobs, 2006).

### **3.4 Internal influences on small and micro business activity**

Increasing awareness of the centrality of the owner-manager in small and micro enterprise activity has led to academic and social research being carried out into the nature and motivations of entrepreneurs.

Bolton (1971) suggests that small firms provide an ideal outlet for enterprising and independent people who wish to be economically independent and are able to contribute to the vitality of the economy as a whole. In addition, the owner-manager of a business not only provides the capital and manages the venture (Brockhaus, 1982) but also guides business practise through the individual's values, background and close involvement with the business venture (Bridge, O'Neill and Cromie, 1998). This closeness of the owner to the firm may explain their involvement, role in risk-taking, guarded sense of independence, and motivation related to quality of life issues rather than focusing on financial gain. The management processes in small and micro firms are summarised by Beaver and Jennings (2005:12) as being characterised by highly personalised preferences, prejudices and attitudes of the firm's entrepreneur, owner and/or owner-manager.

Although early research findings indicate that there is no one single set of individual attributes or personality type that guarantee small business success, there are key elements, identified as a combination of three characteristics: psychological, experiential and personal (Brockhaus, 1982; Stanworth et al., 1989; Osborne, 1995; Watson, Hogarth-Scott and Wilson, 1998; Greenbank, 2000; Greenbank, 2001; Spence and Rutherford, 2001; Beaver and Jennings, 2005; Kirkwood, 2007).

### **Psychological characteristics**

There are a wide range of theories that attempt to explain individual motivation to work and the satisfaction gained from it. Locke (1991 in Bent, Seaman and Ingram, 1999) combines these varying understandings to suggest that the process is a sequence, rather than separate stages. However, the psychological characteristics of those successfully involved in independent business activities focus on three factors: the individual's motivation, need for achievement and locus-of-control beliefs, and risk-taking propensity.

Motivation to work, or the driving force within individuals by which they attempt to meet their personal needs and expectations, relates to both tangible and intangible aspects. Tangible aspects include salary, security and the environment and conditions connected to the place of work. The intangible aspects relate more closely to psychological rewards such as the opportunity to use one's abilities, recognition, sense of challenge and achievement (Mullins, 1996).

Early research into these issues proposed a range of needs theories, summarised by Mullins (1996) as:

People are motivated to work in order to meet needs at varying levels in a hierarchy (physiological needs, safety, love, esteem and self-actualisation), the relative importance of each need decided by the individual (Malsow, 1943).

A continuum of needs based on existence, relatedness and growth, and if needs at one level are blocked, the individual will focus on seeking satisfaction at another level (Alderfer, 1972).

There are factors which, if absent, will cause dissatisfaction (financial rewards, working conditions and interpersonal relationships) and other factors which, if

present, motivate people to work (personal growth and advancement, recognition and sense of achievement) (Herzberg, 1959).

There are four socially developed motives for work: the need for achievement, power, affiliation and avoidance a high level of need for achievement being evident among small business owners (McClelland, 1988).

In addition to 'needs' related theories, 'process' theories of motivation suggest that performance is dependent on the individual's perception of the relationship between effort expended in a particular work situation, the availability of rewards or desired outcomes, and the likelihood of achieving these identified goals. For the small and micro business owner-manager these rewards and outcomes are based on their personal goals for the enterprise and the individual is responsible for expending the effort required to meet these goals. Empirical research suggests that such individuals tend to believe in their own ability to control the outcome of their efforts. This trait may indicate the reasons an individual decides to own and manage a small or micro enterprise rather than seek employment in a larger organisation or encourage their own business to expand (Brockhaus, 1982; Stanworth et al., 1989; Chell, Haworth and Brearly, 1991; Mullins, 1996; Watson, Hogarth-Scott and Wilson, 1998).

The above factors are also linked to the risk-taking propensity of the SME entrepreneur. It may appear that the decision to move into self-employment is linked with a willingness to take risks. However, it is suggested that individuals with a high need for achievement and internal locus-of-control are less likely to take high risks due to the associated risk of failure. The perception of the level of risk involved in a situation may be affected by the availability of information about the particular business environment. Understanding levels of competition, finance required, managerial and practical skills needed and support available will allow a fuller assessment of the risks involved to be assessed (Brockhaus, 1982; Chell, Haworth and Brearly, 1991).

### **Experiential characteristics**

Experiential characteristics are the features of the owner-manager related to factors influencing the decision to choose between self-employment and working for others.



Watson, Hogarth-Scott and Wilson (1998) see the decision to move into SME owner-management as comprising a combination of 'push' and 'pull' motivators.

'Push' factors include redundancy, unemployment, frustration with previous employment and the need to earn a reasonable living (Watson, Hogarth-Scott and Wilson, 1998). An additional 'push' factor is influential when an individual is forced to make a change in their economic activity (Brockhaus, 1982; O'Dwyer and Ryan, 2000). The example of this most pertinent to this study is the example of immigrants to the UK. Reasons for immigration include the desire to improve standards of living, joining families who migrated previously, further education and status as political or economic refugees (Basu, 2004). The decision to enter self-employment may also be the result of racial discrimination by potential employers, although this is illegal and therefore difficult to quantify (Phizacklea and Ram, 1995).

'Pull' factors centre on independence, the opportunity to use creative skills, and the possibility of making money (Watson, Hogarth-Scott and Wilson, 1998). A further 'pull' factor is the presence of successful role models. These take the form of family and friends involvement in similar businesses or formal and informal networks facilitating ease of entry to the particular enterprise sector.

Networks develop as the firm develops and form links between the owner-manager, the economy and the community. Some exist structurally, for example trade associations and relations with experts such as accountants and bank managers, while others, such as family and community links, are socially constructed and operate at two levels, personal and cultural (Ram, 1994; Shaw, 1997; Lynch, 2000). These contacts are created and/or maintained in order to maximise business opportunities and the sharing of information. The formality of the relationships varies according to the level of friendship between the personalities concerned and the extent to which the relationship is perceived to be mutually beneficial (Shaw, 1997). They also provide a means of entry into a particular business sector and ease the process of assimilation of new members into the accepted norms and expectations of the group. This is particularly relevant in ethnic minority communities, where settled communities continue to welcome and support new immigrants (SouthAsiaNet,

2007), enabling the development of both individual and sector wide business opportunities and the related economic benefits (Lynch, 2000).

### **Personal characteristics**

As identified earlier, one of the characteristics of small businesses is that the values embodied in the business will be those of the owner-manager (Bridge, O'Neill and Cromie, 1998). According to Locke (1976 in Tietjen and Myers, 1998), finding satisfaction in a particular activity increases when the individual pursues their own values. Characteristics of these values that are the result of a combination of family, cultural and educational factors they are: acquired over time, unique to the individual, subjective and acquired through both conscious and sub-conscious means, and determine choice and emotional reaction.

Many small-and medium-sized businesses are family concerns, and it is suggested that the family business owners fall into three categories. Entrepreneurial owners are market orientated, paternal owners do not run the business simply for profit but see themselves with wider social responsibilities for employees, customers and the wider community, and family custodial owners have little ambition for growth or change. However, the approach to business in any one particular family business is dependent on a number of factors, including kinship networks, social class, ethnicity, age and nationality (Goffee, 1996).

In micro business (the focus of this study), business success is often dependent on the enterprise being husband-wife business – either formally co-owned, employing the owners' spouse or having a high level of daily, unpaid input from a spouse. There is a tendency among such enterprises to rely on local small business owners for help and support, rather than accessing formal and institutional networks. Owning and running a business is seen either as an exercise in survival, personal independence or achievement; the key to understanding the stance taken being to understand the family concerned (Baines and Wheelock, 1998; Dhaliwal, 2000). As Seaman, Graham, Falconer and Stepek (2007) ask: is the priority business first, family first or family business first? This issue is addressed more fully in Section 6.2.

A further aspect of both family and cultural influences on the acquisition and formation of values is the religious background of the individual. The extent to which this will effect the individual's approach to business activity will vary according to the level at which the particular tenets are held at a personal level, as opposed nominal membership of the faith (Gidoomal, 1997; Hinnells, 1997; Anderson, Drakopouloul-Dodd and Scott, 2000; Altinay, 2008).

The teachings of Islam are the dominant religion in the Edinburgh South Asian community. For Muslim small and micro enterprise owner-managers this may influence the approach adopted towards the use of credit and debt repayment, the involvement of extended families in business activities, and the need to adjust work routines to accommodate festivals and rituals. Under Islam an economy should be left to the market forces. Good Muslim businessmen should be guided by conscience, do the right thing by others, pay a reasonable wage, take care of the environment, charge a fair price and be restrained in the way profits are spent. There may also be implications for the role of female family members in the business and issues related to financial aspects of passing the business from generation to generation. However, there is also a need for business owners to acknowledge that in the UK economic activity is covered by extensive regulation that overrides - but not necessarily conflicts with - individuals seeking to operate within moral frameworks (Rafiq, 1992; Gidoomal, 1997; Hinnells, 1997; Tayeb, 1997; SouthAsiaNet, 2007).

It is also suggested that social class can be an influence on the decision to enter self-employment and the business values adopted. Stanworth et al, (1989) suggest that, in the 1980s, people choosing self-employment should be regarded as a separate social class (Class IV). This included all 'own account' workers apart from professionals, and could be equated with the petite bourgeois, or those with conventional, capitalist middle-class ideals. It was also found that a large proportion of those in self-employment (36.5%) were from families in which this form of economic activity was the norm over the generations.

Gidoomal (1997) and Jones, McEvoy and Barrett (1994) further suggest that South Asian immigrants to the UK have become the new petite bourgeois, acquiring middle class values and attitudes. At the commencement of the study, this group had an

estimated spending power of £5 billion, owned half of the independent shops in the UK and accounted for up to 300 millionaires (Basu and Goswami, 1999).

This increased entrepreneurial involvement and success may be explained by the period of political rhetoric of the Thatcherite, Judeo-Christian philosophy-based enterprise culture that saw wider socio-political environment of government support, the cultural acceptance of entrepreneurship, and “a level of cultural reward, or approval, to those who live out the values of enterprise” (Specht (1993) in Anderson, Drakopouloul-Dodd and Scott, 2000: 7). The values and characteristics of such an enterprise culture focus on factors remarkably similar to those of the business implications of Islam, summarised by Anderson, Drakopouloul-Dodd and Scott (2000: 12) as: promoting freedom of choice, opportunity, self-responsibility, individual and family setting and duties, thrift and hard work, anti-collectivism, free market economics, reduction of government involvement, strong law and order, and a moral and theological justification for approaches to these factors. In addition, Altinay (2008) suggests that the degree to which religion is practised impacts on entrepreneurial behaviour and the extent of reliance on co-ethnic labour, customers and advice.

More recent insights into the changing motivation and aspirations of MEB owners as immigrant communities and business ownership grow beyond the 1st generation are given in Section 6.3.

### **3.5 Ethnic minority business research**

The preceding generic introduction to internal influences on small and micro business activity suggests the importance of understanding individual business owner’s background, attributes and motivation for self-employment. However, it should be stressed that:

organizations and their employees do not live in a vacuum, separated from their societal surroundings ... [but] national culture, as a set of values, attitudes, and behaviours, includes also those which are relevant to work and organization ... values and attitudes, such as power distance, tolerance for ambiguity, honesty, pursuance of group or individual goals, work ethic, and entrepreneurial spirit. (Tayeb, 1997:352)

The importance of these factors and the central economic role of ethnic minority community SME activity is recognised in the more recent studies, which have cast light on these issues among ethnic community business owners. This section presents a review of ethnic minority business literature available at the beginning of the study, which guided the development of the data collection phase of the project. Research into a wider range of ethnic communities and sectors published since the data collection and analysis phase gives additional insights into many of the key emerging themes, and, in accordance with the adaptive grounded theory methodology used in the study, this literature is presented in Chapter 6.

### **United Kingdom South Asian business development**

As Mars and Ward (1984) note, there are differing patterns of business development among British ethnic minority communities. There are high levels of business formation in the UK South Asian community (EMBI, 1992), much of which is focused on areas that have become less attractive to the white British business community. This is particularly true in the small retail sector examined earlier, where demographic changes, increased competition and unsocial working patterns have led to the demise of many traditional small and micro retail outlets. In many inner city areas this decline has been reversed by the business activities of members of the ethnic minority communities, thus generating the associated economic and social benefits identified previously.

There are conflicting views of the underlying reasons for the high levels self-employment among South Asian communities. It is seen either as a result of “a ‘self-help’ ethos and culture conducive to entrepreneurial activity” (Ram, 1997:149), or as arising from “a context of disadvantage and that adverse ‘opportunity structure’ carries greater explanatory power than speculations on ‘culture’ and so-called ‘ethnic’ resources” (ibid).

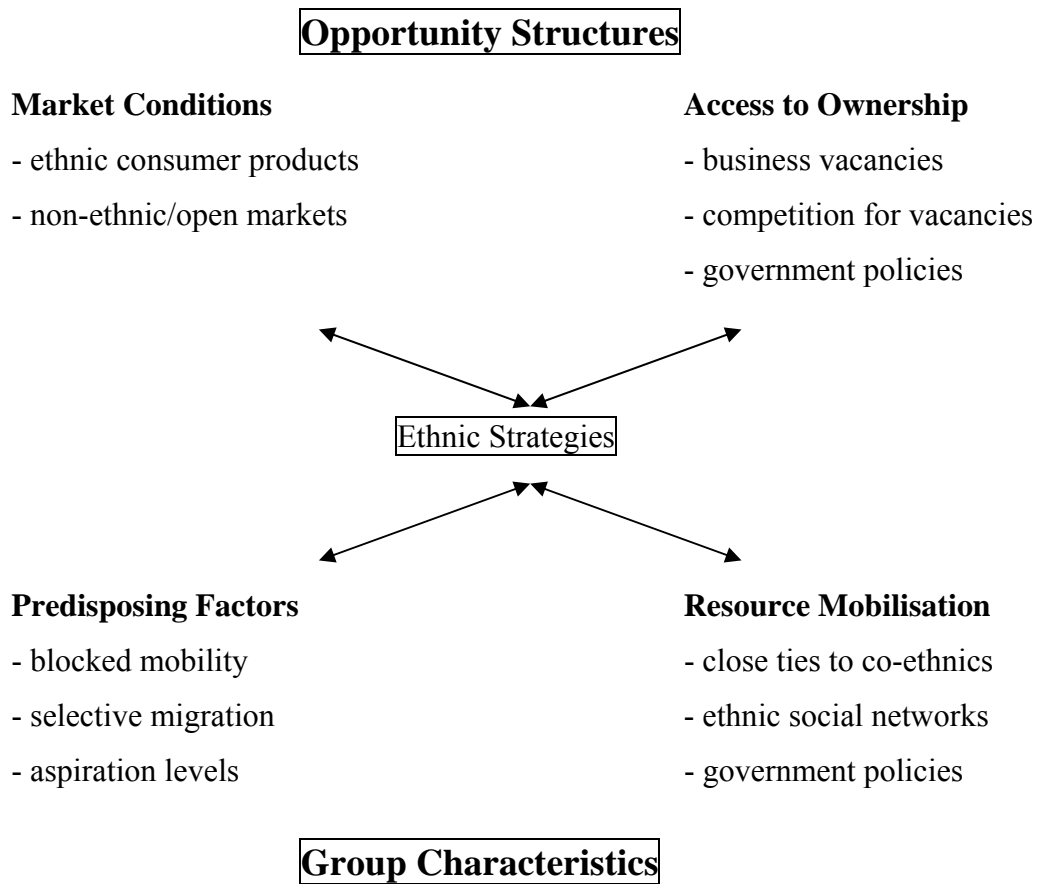
Barrett, Jones, McEvoy and McGoldrick (2002) broadly support this argument, suggesting that diversification and business development “entail a move away from ethnic resources to class resources” (Barrett et al., 2002: 12). This combines with economic conditions that “are conducive to producing quantity but not quality of ethnic minority business” (Barrett et al., 2002: 15), and that the “essential

characteristic of South Asian business continues to be specialisation in a relatively narrow range of low order activities” (Barrett et al., 2002: 16).

In either case, the development of a strategy to take full advantage of these cultural traits and opportunities has implications for a number of factors. These include management processes and styles, finance, the use of non-family and community labour, and traditional ethnic minority business practice of supplying ‘ethnic’ goods to narrow customer bases (Ram, Ford and Hillin, 1997).

Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward (1990) argue that the strategies that have developed to create ethnic minority niche markets are a combination of identified ‘opportunity structures’ and ‘group characteristics’ (Figure 3.2). Broadly speaking, opportunity structures relate to the external factors influencing business success and development identified previously. Economic and demographic changes, changes in economies of scale and government and private initiatives to assist small firms will interact to create an environment in which there are more opportunities for small and micro businesses to develop. Similarly, group characteristics are linked to the internal features of owner-managers. Co-ethnic ties, social networks, patterns of immigration and both community and family role models combine to provide the motivation, opportunity and resources for self-employment.

Using this model as a basis, this section will review research that has used a predominantly qualitative and comparative approach to “understand and distinguish between ‘cultural’ and ‘structural’ factors which encourage or inhibit the success of ethnic minority businesses” (Jenkins, 1984:236). In particular, it will examine opportunity structures of ethnic minority businesses, group characteristics of South Asian SME owner-managers, South Asian business strategies, and Scottish South Asian business strategies – although it should be stressed that these ideas are now somewhat dated and are developed further in Chapter 6, enabling a deeper understanding of the issues to guide the drawing of conclusions from the data collected based on this initial understanding of the topics available at the commencement of the empirical data collection phase of the study.



**Figure 3.2: An interactive model of ethnic business development**

(Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990:22)

### **Opportunity structures of ethnic minority business strategies**

It is suggested that although South Asian immigrants in the UK may have been at an initial racial disadvantage, there have been opportunities to succeed in business where they have found a market niche to suit the resources to which they had access (Phizacklea and Ram, 1995; Gidoomal, 1997).

While there are instance of expanding, successful businesses (Gidoomal, 1997), early studies of small retail businesses within the South Asian community concluded that many of these businesses are “a waste of time and effort and resources are only marginally viable ... (and) Asian shopkeepers are under-rewarded and likely to be

more pre-occupied with survival than with expansion or personal enrichment” (Khan, 1988: 10).

Asian businesses experienced the same external pressures of economic change during periods of recession as similar businesses owned by the majority population. Changes in retail patterns and organisation, altering demographics, environmental factors such as planning strategies, increased car ownership and peripheral housing developments affected potential markets, as did the availability of alternative employment. The principle difference appeared to be in the level of education and prior business experience of SME owner-managers from the two communities (McEvoy and Aldrich, 1986; Khan, 1988).

The ethnic minority communities in the UK are growing in size and geographic spread. When combined with the changing patterns of retail activity and conditions in the social and business environments this provided increased opportunities for new business activity. Ram (1994) suggests that it was “a combination of recession, racism and general economic decline – not cultural flair – that pushed many Asians into self-employment” (Ram, 1994: 50). However, once in business, community networks provided access to markets and suppliers and their “knowledge of the needs of their ethnic community puts them in a position of competitive advantage and provides them with a starting niche” (Ram, 1994: 46). Thus, McEvoy and Aldrich (1986) regard the apparent success of South Asian small retail businesses as being “less a story of high cultural resources and organising capacity than of changing opportunity structures” (McEvoy and Aldrich, 1986:35).

Even when market conditions are favourable, business entry and development is dependent on access to start-up and continuing finance. For many UK South Asians the reasons for migrating to the UK – to fill low paid, low status jobs or expulsion from East African countries – placed restrictions on the capital available for business start-ups. Access to finance may also be shaped by a combination of the following factors: lack of information about sources of institutional finance; lack of self-



confidence in approaching banks; and lack of knowledge about how to present viable business plans (Jones, McEvoy and Barrett, 1994).

While these factors are not specific to members of ethnic minority communities, the Bank of England Special Report (B of E, 1999) into the financing of ethnic minority firms in the UK findings indicate that these issues are compounded by real or perceived racial discrimination. This, when combined with language barriers, may have restricted first generation immigrant's involvement with financial institutions. The problems facing ethnic minority businesses are similar in nature to the challenges to all small and micro businesses, although this appears more acute at both start-up and growth stages of enterprise development. There is a perception among minority community business owners that access to finance is disproportionately difficult for their communities; this linked to risk aversion behaviour by lenders, low margin sectoral concentration of ethnic businesses, high failure rates and a wide lack of business planning. However, the growing reputation of South Asians in successful small and micro business activity has provided the second and third generations of business owners with easier access to institutional finance and decreased the necessity for businesses to be self-financed or rely on family and community resources. This is seen as due to a combination of a number of interrelated factors: improved communication and information flow between banks and businesses; active steps to improve relations between financial institutions and enterprise owners; an increased focus on community finance initiatives such as credit unions and micro-finance funds; the increased political profile of the regeneration of disadvantaged communities; and an awareness of the need to improve uptake of business support and ethnic minority firms access to finance in view of wider small and micro business contexts (B of E, 1999).

Although recognising that access to appropriate finance and business support is vital for all businesses, it is important to recognise the important role of ethnic minority enterprises in the overall UK economy. To maximise benefits for individual businesses, banks and the economy as a whole, a diverse range of practical measures are proposed, including: recruitment and development of staff from ethnic minority groups; marketing designed specific to minority customers requirements and expectations; adapted delivery mechanisms for business advice and support; building

relationships with communities and individuals; increased mutual awareness and understanding through improved communication; a longer term view of assessing and measuring success of new initiatives (B of E, 1999).

Further steps to understand the processes within banks and support organisations and their impact on ethnic minority business finance emerging from the British Bankers' Association (2002) two year study into UK ethnic minority businesses access to finance and business support suggest a need for banks to adopt a more strategic approach to handling relationships with business owners by sharing best practice, cultural awareness training and increased workforce diversity. There should be established procedures for monitoring customer ethnicity, greater transparency in loan evaluation criteria, pro-active engagement with minority groups to establish trust based relationships, and the identification of ways in which to increase the awareness of both the supply of and alternative sources of finance for sectors difficult for banks and mainstream funders to service (BBA, 2002).

In addition, access to finance may also be affected by religious beliefs. The recognised Asian trait of working hard, saving and relying on non-market finance is possibly influenced by attitudes to usury dictated by Islam. Strict Muslims will not give or take interest, but the extent to which this is obeyed appears to be changing over time, and Jones, McEvoy and Barrett (1994) report that this was not a factor influencing individual financial practices. Younger, more highly educated, British-born members of South Asian communities appear to be more ready to adapt to take advantage of more viable opportunities that arise in competitive business environments. In addition, the second generation is seen to have differing priorities and concerns, and changing role model and support needs (Paddison, Fahad and Barn, c1999).

These second and third generation entrepreneurs may also have the advantage of inheriting family businesses. The existing family networks and lack of any real alternative employment provide a strong motivation for younger family members to enter self-employment. However, the low rewards and long hours involved the types of businesses most frequently owned by these families (small retail, manufacturing

and services) are possibly a driving force for Asian business parents to direct their children towards more promising career options (Jones, McEvoy and Barrett, 1994).

More recent understanding of the nature, relevance and focus of these issues is presented in Chapter 6: Second Stage Literature Review.

### **Group characteristics of South Asian SME owner-managers**

Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward (1990) suggest that there are predisposing factors among all ethnic minority immigrant groups that act as a spur to self-employment. This includes unfamiliarity with the language and customs of the host country, inadequate or inappropriate skills, age and racial discrimination may act as impediments to joining the labour market. In addition, limited job and income generating opportunities may encourage the acquisition of business skills for self-employment or to improve access to higher paid employment. The need to generate income may also act as a motivation to work long and unsocial hours to attract the best rewards possible. Also, the process of moving to a new society may have provided the necessary spur to take calculated risks, adjust to change, and see what would be regarded as low profits in the host country as desirable compared to standards of living in the country of origin. The social origins affect individual aspirations and self-employment provides immigrants with economic mobility that may be seen as being more important than social status, thus making the ownership of a small shop more attractive than working for someone else for higher financial rewards.

It is suggested that there is also a predisposition to different types of business activity within the South Asian community. For example, in Bradford in the early 1990s the Muslim community was predominantly of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin, with the non-Muslim group comprising Sikhs and Hindus of both Indian and East African origin. Both Muslim and non-Muslim groups identified the 'pull' factors of the desire for independence and to make money as being the principle reasons for entering self-employment, with unemployment levels being the strongest 'push' factor for those starting up small enterprises. This is born out by comparing the high levels of

Pakistani and Bangladeshi owned small enterprises with the unemployment levels of the same period. The Muslim groups have lower levels of education achievement than the non-Muslims, lower income levels and are of a lower socio-economic status. They do, however, share attitudes to entrepreneurship, cultural institutions and family and community networks (Rafiq, 1992).

This ethos of industriousness, frugality, self-help and deferred gratification apparent among Muslims and the hard-working predisposition of the Sikh community combine to produce “an entrepreneurial ‘predilection’ allegedly peculiar to Asians” (Jones, McEvoy and Barrett, 1994:149). It is suggested that this may give Asian enterprises an advantage over those of the majority, white population because “additional business dynamism is conferred by various traditional values, secular and religious, which are held to be congenitally ‘Asian’ properties and to be conducive to a pro-entrepreneurial world view” (ibid).

It is these characteristics that Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward (1990) claim the ethnic minority community can mobilise to maximise the business opportunities and resources available. Social structures developed when immigrant communities formed within host destinations provide mutual support for individual and business activity. Knowledge of the needs and customs of such communities offers business opportunities to develop niche markets providing co-ethnic customers with familiar goods and services. Involvement with co-ethnic business and social networks provides opportunities for credit-raising, information exchange, partnership development, and access to professional services and advice. The use of co-ethnic and family labour will reduce the impact on business efficiency of possible differences in language and communication skills, standards of conduct, values, and acceptable working conditions.

There are considerable benefits to be gained from utilising these co-ethnic resources as “the social connections within those communities help resolve the uncertainties involved in economic exchange” (Waldinger, 1995: 561). However, the disadvantage of such focus is that the local niche market may be too small to provide opportunities

for all members of the community, thus limiting opportunities for business development and personal advancement and upward mobility (Waldinger, 1995).

The extent to which these social resources can be accessed will also be affected by the make up of the community concerned, due in part to the implications of the differing socio-economic status of groups within the ethnic minority communities identified earlier (Rafiq, 1992). This may influence the spending patterns of local communities, the higher incomes of non-Muslims enabling them to afford more expensive retail outlets and services outwith the inner city communities. Similarly, higher educational achievements may act as an opening to higher status employment opportunities in the wider community.

In addition, socio-economic status may influence the extent to which female members of the community are active in business. For many, unpaid work in the family enterprise is a duty in addition to family responsibilities, with responsibility for decision-making belonging to males within the extended family. For those in higher socio-economic groups with higher levels of education and financial resources, self-employment and entrepreneurial activity provide an opportunity to utilise skills and develop independence once family commitments to children are fulfilled (Gidoomal, 1997; Dhaliwal, 2000).

The impact of these group characteristics and resources will vary between ethnic communities because:

as long as the migrants maintain the expectation of return to the home country, their concern is with the accumulation of capital to be brought home and invested in a business or farm, not with the attainment of social mobility in the societies to which they have migrated. (Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990: 42)

It is suggested that the extent to which there is a reliance on co-ethnic markets and resources will change as the ethnic minority communities mature to include second and third generations. Even when return to the homeland is no longer likely, the sojourner mentality of thrift, diligence, willingness to work long and to make short term sacrifices for longer term benefit helps build strong communities that provide the base for individuals to further their personal ambitions (Aldrich, Jones and McEvoy, 1984).

### **South Asian SME business strategies**

Academic understanding of business strategies emerging within UK South Asian-community owned SMEs has evolved over recent decades.

In 1994, Storey proposed that:

Asian businesses in particular are likely to have higher survival rates than white-owned firms. This reflects the greater use of family networks for financial support, a reluctance to seek salaried work through fear of racial prejudice, and perhaps a clearer awareness of the business skills which are needed to succeed. (Storey, 1994:99)

However, it is questionable if the growth of Asian owned business is simply a matter of conforming to the stereotype of South Asians working long hours, exploiting family labour, accessing family and community networks and sources of finance, and serving the co-ethnic population. Rather, as previously discussed, success is seen as being similar to that of all SMEs as being dependent on the experience, level of education, and access to finance (Basu and Goswami, 1999) as well as individual motivation and the influence of family and community role models (Gidoomal, 1977). It should be noted that these issues have been more widely researched during the time scale of this study, and, in accordance with the methodology adopted for the research, the emerging understandings of the nature of influences on minority ethnic business are presented in Chapter 6.

Ongoing business success can be achieved by developing from serving an ethnic niche to becoming a 'middleman minority' providing goods and services to the open market (Aldrich, Jones and McEvoy, 1984). The effect of less rigidly defined ethnic groups and the increased mobility of ethnic group members has led to the potential of co-ethnic community markets diminishing. This increases the need for businesses to 'break out' into more diverse and innovative market strategies, new product development, and improved business practice more in line with that of the majority community (Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990; Ram, 1997) – a practice increasingly relevant to second and subsequent generation migrants and business owners (Rusinovic, 2008).

The influence of ethnic resources will still be an important factor in the success of a 'middleman' strategy, but lessen when the 'break out' approach to business development is chosen (Basu and Goswami, 1999). However, those businesses that successfully manage these changes still appear to have the advantage of "better access to capital, labour and business skills than their counterparts in the host population" (Rafiq, 1992: 45). Also, the strategies pursued by individual businesses depend "more on the socio-economic or class resources of individuals rather than cultural or ethnic resources" (Rafiq, 1992: 59) – a proposition confirmed by Altinay (2008).

This view is supported by the identification of differences in ethnic minority business involvement across a range of ethnic minority community locations (Barrett, Jones and McEvoy, 2001). In predominantly white, mainstream areas remote from centres of South Asian population, South Asian firms are a small proportion of all business, although those involved in them may form the majority of the local ethnic minority community. Business activity tends to concentrate in the ethnic restaurants and convenience store type low order retailing activity. In predominantly South Asian areas of the UK, a wider range of business activity is evident, serving the needs of the local ethnic community. However, there is less evidence of high involvement in the convenience store sector "which may reflect lower levels of consumption of their products among the South Asian community" (Barrett, Jones and McEvoy, 2001: 248). The middle position, where South Asian community business activity takes place in neighbouring white areas, shows a narrow concentration of business types, and a marked increase involvement in the convenience store sector.

Studies of business activity within large ethnic Asian communities in the UK, such as London and the English Midlands, suggest that both 'middleman and 'ethnic niche' strategies operate simultaneously within the one community. Research by Ram et al. (2000) into South Asian small business activity in Birmingham identifies distinct clusters, or enclaves, of businesses in particular city centre locations, focused on restaurants and other service and retail enterprises. These enclaves serve both their own ethnic market and the general population and a significant proportion of the enterprises employ co-ethnic labour.

The number of enterprises in a particular location has implications for levels of competition and the extent to which individual enterprises can respond to business opportunities. However, the advantage of such enclaves is the availability of co-ethnic labour and suppliers, opportunities for ‘middleman’ activities, and marketing advantages. In addition enclaves provide an important internal factor in business success; that of providing young entrepreneurs with experience prior to setting up new enterprises. The main threat to business is a combination of external factors including increased competition, high levels of staff turnover, and a reliance on price-cutting to retain competitive advantage.

One way to minimise these threats to business success is to rely on family networks to develop business opportunities. This can be a positive influence on the business as the shared cultural heritage of family members is more likely to result in holding in common attitudes to work, expectations of rewards, motivation and trust. Disadvantages of family networks derive from the situation in which the importance of the family and the role played by individual members becomes an obstacle to good business practice (Ram, 1994).

Similarly, a dependence on co-ethnic markets can have a detrimental effect on individual enterprises. In a small minority community, the close community network links that exist may raise expectations of expected customer loyalty in the business owner, and hopes for preferential pricing of goods and services in customers. Also, these close community links can have implications for confidentiality on the part of both business owners and their clients. Conclusions reached by Dyer and Ross (2000) following research into the impact of these factors on ethnic minority business success in Canada suggest that ethnic allegiance can provide a substantial competitive advantage for firms. However, there is a need for business owners to understand the process by which these allegiances form in order to “develop strategies to maximize the positive impact of their ties to the ethnic community” (Dyer and Ross, 2000: 65). This process may lead the ethnic groups to “actually assimilate some of the stereotypes held about the ethnic group by the larger society” (ibid). As a result, opportunities may develop for diversification into different market



sectors, reducing the risk of marginalisation from relying simply on co-ethnic resources (Paddison, Fahad and Barn, c1999).

Both central government and local authorities and the private sector acknowledge the importance of ethnic minority SME activity to the UK economy. Business support initiatives have been developed with the aim of encouraging self-employment as a means to reducing unemployment. Initially such initiatives focused on first generation Asian businesses and therefore may not be representative of the situation facing second generation and female entrepreneurs (Ram, 1997).

There are suggestions that members of the South Asian business community are less aware of and less likely to take up assistance and training opportunities than their peers in the indigenous community (Oc and Tiesdell, 1998; Ogbonna and Noon, 1999; Crick and Chaudhry, 2000). This is seen to be related to the ethnic minority business strategies identified as emerging from various combinations of opportunity structures and group characteristics. 'Middleman minorities', 'ethnic enclaves' and 'cultural niche' markets rely on community and family informal networks, thus reducing the need to look elsewhere for support (Crick and Chaudhry, 2000).

Second and subsequent business generation needs have shifted from assistance in making the initial business entry decision to that of developing business expansion and development strategies as discussed previously. However, there are still cultural differences in the approach to business activity that must be taken into account for business support to meet the criteria identified earlier in this review of being perceived as needed, appropriate and accessible to the various industrial sectors (Paddison, Fahad and Barn, c1999) – a situation identified as still relevant by Deakins et al. (2005), Emslie and Bent (2007) and Hussain and Matlay (2007).

Within any particular community there are specific needs that must be addressed for the support offered to be perceived as needed. These will be based on the nature of the individual ethnic minority community, its pattern of development, social structure and origin – the factors previously identified as being important in the decision to enter self-employment (Oc and Tiesdell, 1998). It is this social

embeddedness previously discussed which “results in expectations which affect economic goals and goal-seeking behaviour ... (and) are resources for the creation of business activities” (Greene, 1997:60). However, the downside of this is that, although close social and business networks encourage ethnic solidarity, they may result in further isolation and marginalisation thus limiting business development opportunities (Oc and Tiesdell, 1998).

These issues of changing levels of the mixed social and economic embeddedness of minority and mainstream communities are developed in Section 6.3: Ethnicity, generations, aspirations and gender.

### **3.6 Scottish South Asian SMEs**

As suggested in Section 2.4 and confirmed in the fieldwork findings in Section 4.1, South Asian immigration to Scotland came later than that to other parts of the UK – comprising 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants embarking on 1<sup>st</sup> generation business ownership, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants in 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> generation business ownership, and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrants. The ethnic minority communities are centred in the four main cities with economic activity focused on the retailing, wholesale, catering and, to a lesser extent, clothing manufacture sectors.

The importance of these enterprises is acknowledged by the Scottish Office conclusion that:

it is true that many of the ethnic minority businessmen were forced into self-employment because of lack of alternative employment opportunities, but there is no denying the fact that a sizeable number possess entrepreneurial ability and with proper training and support, those showing genuine promise should be able to play a significant role in the future growth of the Scottish economy. (Scottish Office, 1989:61 in Deakins, Majmudar and Paddison, 1997:329)

In Scotland, in common with the rest of the UK, academic understanding of the issues in ethnic community and family business has increased greatly during the time scale of this study. As noted previously, this section presents a review of the literature available at the onset of the study and during the data collection and analysis phase of the research, with new insights guiding the development of the theoretical understanding of emerging conclusions being discussed in Chapter 6.

Studies into issues facing South Asian business start-up and development in Scotland have predominantly focused on the Strathclyde Region, where, as elsewhere in the UK, ethnic minority businesses in Scotland have had to face barriers to development related to the limited nature of the ethnic minority markets available. Strategies of diversification and break out into wider community markets have also been limited due to the smaller mainstream markets accessible within the Scottish economy.

The South Asian community in Glasgow consists mainly of first and second generation immigrants of Indian and East African origin. However, the barriers to business development identified by Deakins, Majmudar and Paddison (1997) are broadly similar to those experienced by more mature ethnic minority business communities elsewhere in the UK.

The traditional pattern of Scottish economic development being dominated by large firms and industrial decline in the latter half of the twentieth century restricted the economic opportunities for immigrant labour more widely available in other parts of Britain. As a result, the growing South Asian community in Strathclyde saw self-employment in predominantly service activities (Deakins, Majmudar and Paddison, 1997). The demographic changes related to the decline in inner city populations associated with movement of the white majority population to outer areas of the city limited the trading environment available to ethnic minority retail outlets.

There have been a number of initiatives designed to help ethnic minority enterprises overcome the restraints imposed on business development due to these environmental changes and limited access to finance. However, entrepreneurs have perceived them to be generic in nature and not specific to the needs of individual businesses. While family tradition is still an influencing factor in new entrepreneurial activity, next generation enterprises are increasingly owned by young Asians who “have different expectations, are often highly educated and enter entrepreneurship against a background of family expectations not to follow a career in self-employment” (Deakins, Majmudar and Paddison, 1997: 339).

Although these enterprises face constraints on development common to all small and micro businesses, South Asian entrepreneurs in Glasgow indicated that there are specific issues for ethnic minority firms. These include the motivations for the

business entry decision, access to resources related to reliance on the family, community finance and problems accessing bank finance, and access to markets related to over reliance on ethnic markets. Thus it would appear that the situation facing the South Asian owned small or micro retail outlet in Glasgow is no different to that of similar enterprises in the UK as a whole. The relative success of each enterprise is affected by a combination of external barriers related to the wider economic and social environment and internal factors of owner motivation, education and the influence of family and community role models.

At the commencement of this study, published research into South Asian owned small businesses in Edinburgh has focused on external factors influencing business success and development.

A study of South Asian owned convenience stores in the capital (Bent et al., 1999) indicated that there was a limited awareness of changes taking place in the trading environment. However, response to these issues tended to be reactive rather than proactive. While there was a widespread acceptance of the threats to existing businesses, 80% had no plans to adapt to changing consumer needs, either by diversifying into new areas or breaking out into wider markets. There was very limited knowledge of sources of business support and advice initiatives and mechanisms. Respondents indicated that family and friends within the ethnic minority community were preferred sources of advice over that offered by government, local authority and private sector agencies.

### **3.7 Additional topics emerging during data collection / analysis process**

As discussed in Section 2.2 above, the adaptive grounded theory methodology adopted for this research allows for new topics to be introduced to the data collection process as previously unanticipated sensitising concepts emerge during the initial constant comparison analysis process.

In this study, two new concepts emerged: business owner's attitude to symbol group membership, and specific generational issues.

### **Symbol group membership**

As highlighted earlier, small independent retail businesses are often at a competitive disadvantage due to issues of economy of scale, access to product ranges and lack of business expertise. One way in which these aspects can be overcome, or at least minimised, is symbol group membership. There are a number of such groups offering a range of services to independent small retailers, however the relevance and implications of symbol group membership are illustrated by the example of the Londis group (the symbol group encountered during this study) and the largest grouping, the SPAR retail network.

Such organisations of independent store owners gives “not only the benefit of volume deals, but access to essential marketing, store development, technology and retail expertise to help them drive footfall and turnover” (Londis, 2003). Goods, including quality and good value own-brand products exclusive to Londis stores, are delivered via distribution centres and leading suppliers. Marketing materials combine with bulk buy offers and special promotions vary with individual store locations and trading style.

Similarly, SPAR offer promotions, local and national advertising, own brand products and distribution networks. As with the Londis group, membership is conditional on the proposed or existing store having growth potential and membership fees are charged according to the size and type of store. Financial packages and credit terms, merchandising, refurbishment and store development are among the benefits offered to members (SPAR, 2003).

Whilst symbol group membership offers assistance in some aspects of competitive disadvantage, at the same time it prevents individual business owners from adapting pro-actively to local situations as both these and other symbol groups, there is the requirement for individual stores to conform to the group image, layout, shop-fitting and promotions (Londis, 2003; SPAR, 2003). This may impact on the perception of freedom and independence identified previously in this literature review as one reason for self-employment.

### **Generational issues**

As suggested in the family business literature reviewed above, generational issues emerged during the data collection and analysis process as an important factor affecting business development. This section develops the sensitising concepts guiding the evolving interview schedule by considering the family business research conducted by Fox, Nilakant and Hamilton (1996) and Morris, Williams and Nel (1996); and, in accordance with the adaptive grounded theory methodology, more recent developments in the academic understanding of this topic are presented in the Second Stage Literature Review (Chapter 6).

Research indicates that only one third of family owned and dominated businesses survive into the second generation of family ownership and that less than one sixth then pass to the third generation. For such succession to be a success, there is a need to plan the process consisting of three broad stages. Firstly, the preparation of heirs through education, training, work experience other than in the family business, motivation to join the enterprise. Secondly, the development of relationships among family members through commitment, loyalty, shared values and traditions. Finally, the utilisation of planning and control activities such as succession planning, the use of business advisors and wider family involvement in decision making.

Following such a process will enable family members to fill specific roles during the transition of responsibility from one generation to the next, with the current head of the family organisation shaping the role of the next generation member (Morris, Williams and Nel, 1996).

It is suggested that such a planned transition while the original, or older generation, business owner is still actively involved in the enterprise should then disrupt business, family customers and suppliers as little as possible – the key being for the retiring leader to be willing and able to stand back once the process is complete.

In addition, it is important to note the pivotal role of motivation to be in business, family loyalty, and shared values and traditions in the continued involvement of family members in the business activity of previous generations. While there are

suggestions that there are strong cultural and religious influences on family structure and both business and social behaviour within South Asian communities, individual motivation and internal barriers to business development are influenced by a wider range of factors (Fox, Nilakant and Hamilton, 1996).

### **3.8 Summary of sensitising topics**

Essentially, this study aims to shed light upon the Edinburgh South Asian convenience store owners' personal interpretation of the range of internal factors impacting upon approaches to business activity.

In accordance with the adaptive grounded theory methodology adopted in this study, extant theory developed from sensitising concepts drives both the empirical data collection stage of the research process and the resultant theory generation phase. Initial key issues and questions for the fieldwork stage of this study emerge from a summary of the above review of previous empirical research into small and micro businesses, the small, independent retail sector, and ethnic minority business activity. These topics then combine to form the fieldwork schedule, the base for data collection interviews and initial analysis coding.

#### **Small businesses**

Although there is no simple definition of small and micro enterprises, the key features of SMEs that distinguish them from larger enterprises are that these businesses enjoy a relatively small share of their market, adopt informal management styles and organisational structures, and maintain independence from larger organisations.

Small and micro enterprises play a vital part in the Scottish and UK economy. These potential economic benefits constitute the more obvious argument for intervention in the SME sector, as high failure rates will result not only in reduced income generation but also in the need for increased expenditure on unemployment and associated benefits. There are also associated wider social benefits to be gained by reducing obstacles and barriers to the start up and development of such enterprises.

For such initiatives to be both effective and an efficient use of public money there is a need to understand the nature and characteristics of SMEs and the features that set them apart from larger organisations.

It is also important to focus on the nature, motivation and background of the individual small and micro business owner-managers so that business assistance can then be designed to be perceived as needed, appropriate and accessible to the various industrial sectors, and targeted and focused where the greatest benefit can be accrued.

These factors are particularly relevant where both localised economic and social benefits stem from a strong independent, locally owned convenience store sector, providing the principle economic activity of the inner city ethnic minority community.

### **Internal and external business influences**

The external factors affecting the potential for success of small independent convenience stores are broadly similar to those affecting all micro enterprises. Economic and social change and business costs will impact upon all retailers in a particular business sector in a specific location.

The differing levels of business success depend on the cultural and creative ability of the individual owner-manager to adapt to these changes. This will depend on the previous experience, skills and education, motivation for self-employment, the influence of role models, and family, cultural or religious values of the individual concerned.

The high proportion of South Asian owned micro retail enterprises and convenience stores in the UK in general, and Edinburgh in particular, indicates the importance of understanding the nature of South Asian business and the background and social structures of the communities in which such enterprises develop.

### **Centrality and characteristics of micro-business owner**

Small and micro enterprises differ from larger organisations in that there is often no formal management structure and financial constraints limit the opportunities for development.



While offering more flexible, informal working conditions such businesses often offer little opportunity for formal training due to a lack of awareness of the need for ongoing staff and management development.

Small firms are typically owned and managed by members of the same family and remain in family ownership for a number of generations. The success or failure of the enterprise is highly dependent on the skills, resources, personal values and perceptions of opportunities or business barriers of the owner-manager.

The reasons for entering self-employment are seen to be a combination of a number of factors related to the prior experience, background, education and motivation of the owner-manager.

The role models and formal and informal networks of contacts available to the individual will influence this decision, as will the characteristics and values of the entrepreneur.

Such individuals appear to have a high need for achievement, are moderate risk-takers and have a need to be in control of the environment in which they operate.

Business success equates with personal success, and similarly business failure implies personal failure.

Their personal values will be developed through cultural and life factors relating to the religious and social background of family and community role models.

These factors will be strongly influenced by the ethnic background of the individuals and families concerned.

### **Ethnic minority businesses**

The ethnic minority population in the UK grew rapidly in the second half of the twentieth century. Immigration direct from the Indian sub-continent and indirectly via Africa, and from other former Commonwealth nations has resulted in Scotland becoming a multi-racial nation.

For many minority communities in the UK retail self-employment has been seen as the only alternative to low paid, low status employment. Many of these businesses have been concentrated in inner city areas and in the retail and service sectors. Business opportunities have been developed by utilising family and community

networks to provide labour, financial and market resources. Barriers to such opportunities focus on lack of knowledge of business practice, limited access to support and finance, language difficulties and discrimination.

The motivation to enter self-employment is seen as a result of predisposing ethnic group characteristics. Social structures within ethnic minority communities provide both resources identified above and individual support networks and role models. Shared religious and cultural values improve the ability of entrepreneurs to identify markets and appropriate strategies for enterprise development within co-ethnic niches.

Changing demographics and business environments have placed increased pressure on ethnic minority businesses, resulting in a need to develop wider markets or to diversify into new product areas. Typically, strategies adopted are to act as middleman minorities offering ethnic products to wider markets or breaking out to offer similar products as those of majority community businesses. This can be seen as a challenge to second and third generation entrepreneurs, or as a motivation for these better educated, increasingly westernised young people to seek different career options.

As ethnic minority communities become increasingly socially and economically embedded in the mainstream communities, business strategies become increasingly similar to same sector mainstream owned enterprises.

Although the South Asian community in Scotland is much smaller than that in other regions in the UK, small and micro business activity within the community faces similar barriers to success and development as their counterparts in England.

In both Glasgow and Edinburgh there is an awareness of the changing opportunity structures open to ethnic minority enterprises that are related to wider, external factors. In addition, there are indications from studies of the Glasgow ethnic minority community that group characteristics are also changing in line with other larger, more mature communities.

### **Symbol group membership**

Membership of a symbol group offers distinct advantages to individual convenience store owners, including economies of scale, marketing, promotions and brand image.

However, individual small retailers may perceive these benefits to be outweighed by some measure of loss of control and independence stemming from the conformity to established business practice required by such organisations.

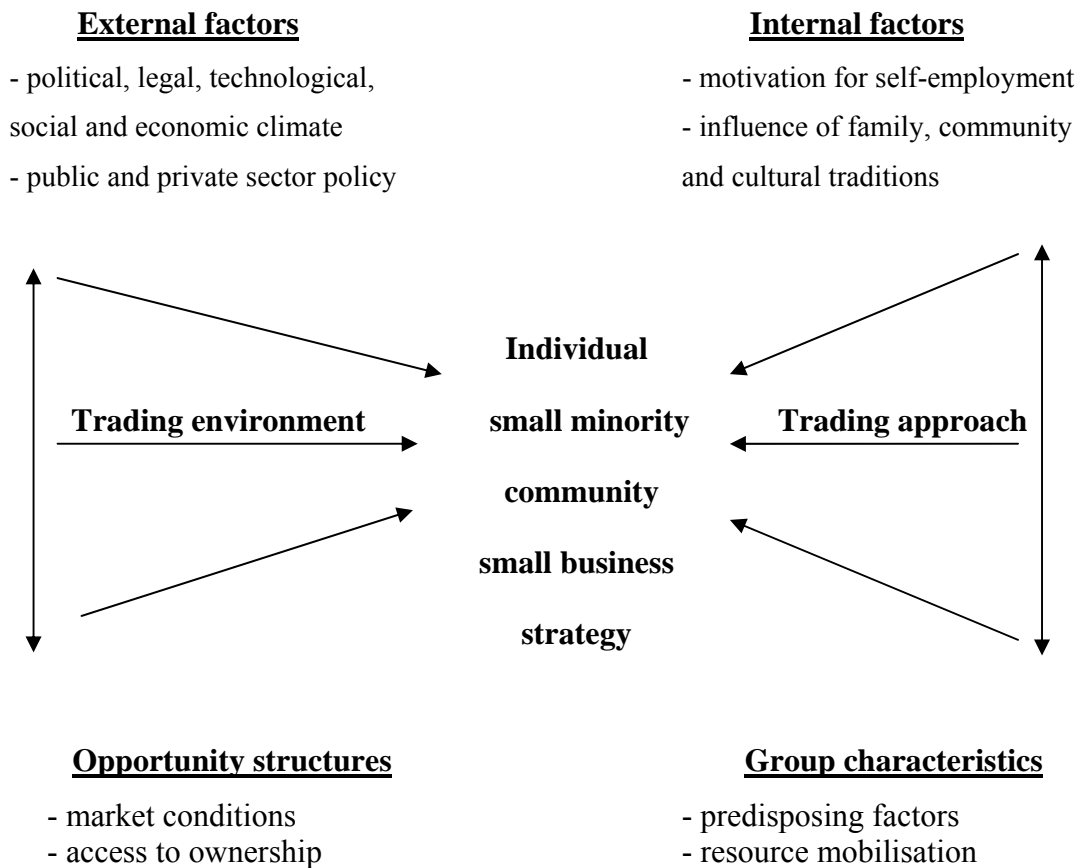
### **Generational issues**

Over time, both ethnic minority communities and family owned businesses grow and develop to include more than one generation. The pattern of business behaviour as control changes from the first to the second or third generation remains highly dependent on the motivation, skills and influence of cultural values and traditions – the internal factors affecting the original decision for self-employment and business development.

### **3.9 Development of interview schedule**

From the preceding review of literature associated with the identified sensitising concepts of this study, it would appear that there is no one, easily identifiable set of barriers to small and micro convenience store development. The approach adopted in a particular enterprise will be dependent on the individual business owner and their background, experience, motivation, culture and traditions, ethnic business strategies, and individual perceptions of external influences on the business environment.

In order to investigate the range of internal barriers to South Asian owned convenience stores in Edinburgh – the focus of this study – the interview schedule used for data collection and initial analysis purposes it is necessary to combine this range of factors. This theoretical model is illustrated in Figure 3.3.



**Figure 3.3: Factors influencing small minority community small business strategies**

Following this understanding of the range and interaction of factors influencing the internal barriers to business development questions guiding research need to include the following: motivation for entering and remaining in self-employment; education level and prior business experience; family and community role models; access to financial and human resources; cultural, religious and traditional influences; perceived opportunity structures; perceived group characteristics. These broad questions provide the base for topics to include in the interview schedule presented in Figure 3.4.

## **Interview Topics:**

### **1. Personal background**

Age, education, ethnic origin

Family, generation, residence pattern

### **2. Business background**

Experience, reason for business entry, family business activity

Location, type, age of business, growth pattern, other businesses, employees

Business aims

### **3. Motivational factors**

Push and pull factors – choices, options, expectations, pressure

Personal goals and values – desire for independence, need for achievement, needs priorities, traditions vs individual ambitions

### **4. Individual perceptions**

Family influences

Community influences

Racial issues and constraints

Business success – potential, realistic, reasons for difference

### **5. Ethnic strategies**

Opportunity structures – market conditions, access to ownership

Group characteristics – predisposing factors, family and community resources

Business strategies – family and co-ethnic labour, finance and markets, diversification in product and market

Barriers to business development – competition, trading environment, business strategies, personal factors of age, training and motivation

Business assistance – awareness, uptake, expectations

### **6. Succession planning**

Generational attitudes to self-employment

Succession planning.

### **7. Symbol groups**

Attitude to symbol group membership.

Perceived advantages and disadvantages.

**Figure 3.4: Interview topics**



## **Chapter 4: FIELDWORK FINDINGS**

### **4.1 Personal background**

- Age and migrant generation
- Education
- Family links
- Sojourner mentality

### **4.2 Business background**

- Business entry decision
- Experience
- Family business activity
- Business aims
- Growth pattern
- Other business activities
- Succession planning
- Employees

### **4.3 Motivational factors**

- Choices and options
- Pressures and expectations
- Desire for independence
- Need for achievement
- Needs priorities
- Tradition vs individual ambition
- Attitude to work ethic, society, tradition and individual ambition

### **4.4 Individual perceptions**

- Family and community influences
- Racial issues and constraints
- Restrictions to business success

### **4.5 Ethnic strategies**

- Opportunity structures
- Group characteristics
- Business strategy
- Business assistance
- Impact on business development

### **4.6 Generational issues and succession planning**

- Repeat c-store ownership
- Succession plans
- Changing priorities, influence of culture and generational aspirations

### **4.7 Attitude to symbol groups**

- Membership
- Advantages and disadvantages

### **4.8 Follow-up observational visit**

- Situation at Autumn 2007
- Aims met

### **4.9 Key emerging themes**





The literature review presented in the previous chapter indicates that, while all business are impacted upon by a range of external factors, approaches to sector, size and growth of individual enterprises is also shaped by a number of internal factors. External factors focus on both widespread and localised macro and micro political, economic, socio-demographic and technological (PEST) factors largely outwith the control and influence of the business owner.

In contrast, internal factors involve the varied and variable interactions of factors including personal and business background and experience, motivation for self-employment, individual perceptions of business opportunities and potential, and the nature and extent of family and community role models, traditions and culture. This combination of factors is of particular importance when the centrality of the owner/manager of micro enterprises is taken into account.

In addition to these generic issues, academic research into approaches and influences on business practice of South Asian ethnic minority business owners' activity in large minority communities, suggests the need to consider the role played by factors including: opportunity structures and group characteristics, the degree of economic and social embeddedness, changing sojourner mentality and generational aspirations, and the influence of religion, culture and tradition.

This chapter presents the findings from the empirical data collected from the 21 in-depth, semi-structured interviews based on the interview schedule topics combining these theoretical internal generic and ethnic minority business influences (see Figure 3.4).

Each of Sections 4.1-7 presents the rationale for the topic and a detailed presentation of the respondents' varied, pluralistic responses and perceived realities. As suggested in Chapter 2: Methodology and Methods, adaptive grounded theory requires rich descriptive evidence in order to increase inductive understanding these multiple meanings and realities. This is provided by quotes from interview transcripts, referenced by interview number: line number (for example, interview 1 line 28 is shown as (1: 28) in the text) – interviewer questions and comments, where included in longer quotes, are indicated as [...]. Tables summarising the findings for each topic are included in Appendix 4. The findings of the follow-up observational visit made towards the end of the extended study time scale are included in Section 4.8.

The final section of the chapter identifies the key emerging themes, the importance and interaction of which is discussed in Chapter 5: Emerging Themes, leading into the Second Stage Literature Review (Chapter 6) demanded by the adaptive grounded theory methodology underpinning the study.

#### **4.1 Personal background**

##### **Issues**

Age, education, ethnic origin

Family, generation, residence pattern

##### **Rationale for inclusion**

Development of final theoretical research sample to include a spread of business owner age, migrant and business ownership generations.

Identification of formal and business education, the extent of UK, Scottish and Edinburgh family links, and individual sojourner or permanent resident mentality.

##### **Findings**

##### **Age and migrant generation**

The business owners included in the final research sample (shown in Table 2.1) range in age from mid-twenties to over 65 years. Those aged over 50 were 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants (8 respondents), the remainder being 2<sup>nd</sup> (12) and 3<sup>rd</sup> (1) generation migrants, either moving to the UK at an early age or being UK born. None of those interviewed were born in Edinburgh, but all except 1 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants (Respondent 19 with no family yet) and the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrant (Respondent 14 as yet unmarried) have children born and resident in Edinburgh.

Of these 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrants, only 2 (5 and 12) are the first generation to be involved in c-store ownership.

##### **Education**

Of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants, 4 (1, 2, 9 and 21) have no formal education beyond schooling in Pakistan. The other 4 either came to the UK to continue education (10, 11) or had South Asian degrees (13, 17).

Of those born in the UK, 6 (4, 5, 6, 16, 19, 20) were educated to school leaving age in the UK, 1 educated in Pakistan (18) and 5 achieved HND (15), diploma (3), technical/engineering (7, 8) or apprenticeship (12, 15) qualifications. Respondent 14 (3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrant) qualified as a motor mechanic after leaving school in England.

None of those interviewed have formal business qualifications.

Comments suggest a wide range of opinions and attitudes to education, some business owners having no interest in education and the opportunity to join family members in c-store ownership provided an escape. As Respondent 8 remarks: "I never wanted to see another book" (8: 97-104). In contrast, Respondent 19 made the decision to forego further and higher education to help his father in the move into self employment in Edinburgh following redundancy in England, noting:

Cos I was ready to go to college do my 'A' levels and stuff. That was sixth form college and erm, then, er, he'd been up here seen the shop then he said "look" he said, he sort of said "I've been sort of" he said "look, do you want me to get a shop". He said "look you're going to have to help me". So I said "what do you mean help you". So he said "you're going to have to come with me" ... "You go to college then we'll do it then". So I said "no, I'm not about to waste three years at college to stand behind a counter. If I'm going to help you, I'll help you now. I'm not going to do it in two or three years time once I've been to university or something". So that was it. Decided. (19: 333-45)

This influence on education of family expectations and responsibilities is also stressed by Respondents 4 and 11 who comment:

I wanted to do it [take education further] but the problem is being the only son and the responsibilities, er, my father was struggling on this side so I had to, I had to come to help my father. (4: 180-3)

Unfortunately my dad died. I was the eldest and I finished my career in education and tried to find a job. (11: 121-3)

### **Family links**

The typical residence pattern is 1<sup>st</sup> generation migration from Pakistan or other areas of South Asia to industrial areas in England before migration to Scotland, except for

Respondent 9 who joined his uncle in business in Scotland aged 18 and Respondent 21 who is a recent migrant, joining his wife's family in Edinburgh.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation respondents were, by definition, born in the UK.

All those interviewed have family links throughout the UK and extended family connections with Pakistan.

### **Sojourner mentality**

Of the 21 business owners interviewed 20 indicate that they see their future in the UK, although for some this view has changed over time and generations of residence and it interesting to note the comments made by one 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrant: "I think my children are completely different from their father ... They don't feel that they are Pakistani, they are Scottish" (2: 435-6).

This feeling is supported by the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation respondent's view that "I'm Scottish. It's where you're born. That's the main thing is I'm Scottish though. My sister was born Huddersfield she's from, she's English" (14: 53-7).

The only respondent indicating a preference for a permanent return to Pakistan is the most recent 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrant (Respondent 21). However, he is aware of issues affecting such a decision both for him and many members of the community, and comments:

Well I wish if I had, like, what a couple of hundred thousand pound in my pocket. When I win the lottery I will say 'let's go' ... You could buy a castle there with five hundred thousand, five hundred thousand pound you could buy a castle there and any business you want. The problem is every Pakistani, every Pakistani wants to get some money, get good money and go back. The problem is, the children don't go back. You know, some people, about fifty percent of people are rich Asian although they are old. The problem is when they get old the parents don't like to go back. When you have children you have to stay with them. Children don't want to go there. They are used to the European life not to the Muslim life. Because our children grow up here, they are like that they make their life here. I am going to have money. I am going to have money when I am fifty, right, maybe. Most of the Asians have money when they are fifty but they cannot go back because the kids don't want to go. So that is the problem. If I have money today, with young kids, I can take them, that's no problem while they are seven and nine years old. Even in the next four, five years, right. If, if they, if they are older, twenty five, twenty and you want to go there they say 'no thank you, we don't want to go'. So I won't stay without my family so, that, that's one of the big problems of the Asians. They don't want to go back. They

don't like living in the Asian culture 'cos it is not like the freedom they are used to here. (21: 601-38)

Other respondents commenting on the possibility of returning to the sub-continent spoke of holidays and retirement – one specifically mentioning the potential problems with business ownership in Pakistan:

I went back for three years, but to go back permanently, no, not at the moment. Maybe when I am retired, just for the weather. For the weather and all that but not to work. I wouldn't feel I could start a business there. [You don't feel there are the opportunities that you have] Not the things I have had, the problems and the bribery and all that you have there, no I couldn't do all that. (18: 532-7)

## **4.2 Business background**

### **Issues**

Experience, reason for business entry, family business activity

Location, type, age of business, growth pattern, other businesses, employees

Business aims

### **Rationale for inclusion**

Identify extent of personal and family business experience and activities.

Establish rationale for business entry decision.

Link business aims and growth pattern with succession plans.

### **Findings**

#### **Business entry decision**

For 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants, the move to self-employment was perceived to offer opportunities for an improved personal and/or family lifestyle, this decision frequently being associated with changing attitude to sojourner/permanent migration attitude.

In contrast, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation business entry decisions were linked to family commitments, changing aspirations and personal, family and business aims. These issues are developed in Section 4.6, linking with succession and motivation issues.

However, the individual business entry decision was guided by three broad factors: to gain and build on experience (1, 6, 8, 9, 15, 16), immediate and wider family

encouragement (2, 4, 10, 11, 14, 18, 19, 20), and due to no perceptible options or alternatives through health issues (13), immigration factors (21) and obligations of the business being “a bad gift” (5: 28).

## **Experience**

As noted in Section 4.1 above, none of the c-store owners interviewed have any formal business education. However, all have experience in family or community owned similar enterprises, learning on the job being perceived as the most appropriate and valuable lessons. As Respondent 4 comments:

I have been born in to this. being brought up in business, that's my advantage ... It's second nature ... you know in the newsagency, you begin to pick things up as you go along so you have a bigger picture, er, than just the theoretical side of it. To any businesses, yes, the basic principles are there to make money. (4: 8 and 287-98)

Similarly Respondent 18 stressed: “You just learn, that's right you just learn as you go from the customers. The customers, you know, it's just common sense most of it really” (18: 408-10).

It should be noted that not all experience is positive at the time, but a means to learn lessons for the future. This is illustrated in the experience of Respondent 9. On migration to the UK, he gained language experience and business examples from an uncle who owned a petrol station. This was followed by experience working on the uncle's ice cream van, learning as he went along, all day-to-day experience seen as good learning experience and the basis upon which to embark on his own business. However, “that first shop was a bad experience and I lost a lot of money. I put in lots of hours but now see that it was a dead shop” (153-4), and the business was exited after one year. The next step was to take an opportunity in Livingston when the New Town was being developed as chance to work hard and build on experience gained in the bad business. This further, more successful experience resulted in the move to current premises, which it is now hoped to expand as the sons are increasingly involved in the day-to-day and planning aspects of the shop. The follow-up visit suggests that these plans have been partially implemented, as the business still operates in the same premises, but with the second generation now running the business with limited advice from their father.

### **Family business activity**

As discussed in Section 3.6, the Edinburgh Pakistani community migration was via other Scottish and UK-wide locations. Although a number of respondents have experience of personal or family business activity in Pakistan (2, 4, 10, 11), initial UK economic activity was predominantly employment in manufacturing industries. The move to Scottish self employment followed extended family UK business involvement, predominantly in small and micro-retailing. On start-up, use was made of family and community connections, advice and access to finance (this is presented in detail in Section 4.5, Ethnic Strategies). In addition, other business activity also tends to be linked to family/community experience

All but Respondents 5, 13 and 16 have wider family business involvement, predominantly in retail, hospitality, property and construction.

### **Business aims**

The stated business aims fall into two main divisions: personal or business.

The personal aims focus on two main issues: survival (2, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16) or exit (5, 7, 11, 17, 20). Contrasting extremes are illustrated in Respondent 2's aim to be "in such a position where I don't have to come in and work with my hands" (2: 355) and the hope that business the will be able to "run itself for 100 years. To carry the name of xxxx for 100 years" (2: 699-700), and Respondent 5's view of the business as "a bad gift ... I don't think I can do very much ... sell it off and retire" (5: 28, 157).

The business aims involve "trying to build and become a professional business" (1: 583) in order to enable the business to continue and expand, even if potential is perceived as limited due to external factors (1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 13, 18, 19).

Three business owners state aims focused on wider personal and community issues: being a good example of the Muslim way of life to family and the local community (12), offering service to customers by being "handy, we are handy, we are good servers, we are handy. We give good service. That's it. Nothing else" (21: 346-50), and using business skills to increase the acceptability of ethnic minority communities (3).

### **Growth pattern**

For all business in the research sample, growth is perceived as limited due to the nature of the c-store sector and external business issues. For those with aims to remain in the sector and continue to develop this and other business activities (1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10 11, 18, 20), growth is seen as linked to other economic activities, gradual, and success related to the ability to change direction and diversify into other sectors.

### **Other business activity**

Opinions, involvement and approach to business activity split into two groups – developing a diversity of economic activities or remaining focused on a single enterprise or sector; the stance taken being linked to personal skills, ambition, motivation and aims, presented in Section 4.3 below.

In all cases, the c-store remains the core, or sole, individual and family business activity as, as Respondent 3 commented:

We had been considering a few years before that to, to try and do something else but it's very difficult to break from something that might be demanding, you know, and very hard working but at least it's something you can rely on for your bread and butter. (3: 55-59)

Respondents 6, 7, 10, 16, 18 and 20 are also involved in property rental and development.

Respondent 4 is unique in the sample and has a developing business empire building on that started by his semi-retired father (Respondent 10), with involvement in a wider range of sectors that expands and contracts with market changes and opportunities to diversify. These sectors include retail, wholesale, construction, food and wine distribution, printing, tanning, property rental and development, finance.

### **Succession planning**

While there is little evidence of formal succession planning, aims for 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrants fall into three main categories: develop family business activity (3, 4, 9, 10, 17, 18), continue business run by staff (1, 2, 7, 8, 11), exit self-employment or pursue formal education (5, 6, 12, 13, 20).



Respondents 14, 15, 16, 19 and 21 have no plans for the future management of their businesses.

The variation of attitudes to succession issues between generations emerged as an important factor and was added as a new interview topic. The findings are reported in detail in Section 4.6 below.

### **Employees**

All those interviewed are actively involved in the day-to-day running of the business. Immediate and wider family and ethnic community members are employed in businesses 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 16 and 19, with mainstream community members brought in to provide specific Post Office skills (16), to enhance links with the local community (2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 19) and for security at busy times (8, 9, 19) or when female family members would otherwise be on their own on the premises (14). The use of family, community, mainstream employees focuses on issues of cost, security and trust, as illustrated by the following comments:

It's just myself and family members do come in on a daily basis to help out, but it's just family really ... Well we've got the other shop across the road as well. We've got staff I there. So if there's ever a need we just get someone to come across from there ... There's no really any point employing folk to sit around. (7: 549-54)

Small shops are struggling to survive. Now we're fairly lucky we have quite a large family. Now if somebody here was just by themselves they would be done because, one they would have to employ somebody. Apart from the Edinburgh Council ripping us off and everybody else ripping us off, the manufacturers, the wages bill would be astronomical. It certainly would not be a profitable, viable business to be in, this. If somebody else was in my shoes now and a manager or owner of this shop, they would have closed this shop a year ago. (20: 701-8)

We did not look for ethnic, just wanted good staff, trustworthy staff because it's hard to find reliable, trustworthy staff. (4: 195-7)

## **4.3 Motivational factors**

### **Issues**

Push and pull factors – choices, options, pressures and expectations

Personal goals and values – desire for independence, need for achievement, needs priorities, traditions vs individual ambitions

### **Rationale for inclusion**

Identify motives and aspirations for business start-up, development and continuation

Assess definitions of success, achievement and needs priorities

Highlight potential areas of individual/community conflict/tension

### **Findings**

#### **Choices and options**

In the research sample interviewed, business start-up decisions fall into three groups: a push into c-store ownership due to limited alternative options (8, 9, 11, 13, 19, 20); the pull of family, personal or community expectations and pressures (1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18); and a combination of both elements for Respondents 4, 5 and 21.

Push issues focus on external factors including age, health, language skills and education levels restricting alternative economic activities. In contrast, pull issues relate more to family and individual aspirations, shaped by personal ambition, family experience and the preference for independence and the resulting tangible and intangible rewards.

However, three respondents indicate that they had no options or choice in the matter – the business start-up decision being taken by the 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants. Despite initial regrets at not pursuing education, this proved a positive decision for Respondent 4, with involvement in the family business since the age of 13, and exiting education against personal choice as taking on responsibility for the shop in Manchester when his father moved to Scotland to open a new c-store venture became a family economic priority. The opposite opinion is expressed by Respondents 5 and 21, for the former the business being an unwanted gift in place of the opportunity to continue education and follow a differing career path, the latter presented with c-store involvement as the only option open to a new migrant reliant on opportunities provided by his family-in-law as “They imported me. They got me here. So when I came here I didn’t have much. No qualification. Only went in the school. I didn’t go in the college, so I didn’t have anything” (21: 133-6).

## **Pressures and expectations**

The pressures on business start-up and continuing c-store involvement fall in to two main categories. The first group focused on parental and wider family expectations and aspirations (predominant among second generation migrants and business owners), and personal perceptions of the alternatives available (8, 9 and 10). The second category involves the range of strategies adopted to address real or potential conflict (a factor stressed by Respondents 10, 13, 19 and 21) between these perceptions and expectations, with approaches ranging from working with and through the issues or planning an exit from the sector or self-employment .

It is widely accepted that entering self-employment will be challenging and hard work (3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 18, 21) and demand elements of sacrifice (2) and an acceptance of responsibility (1). While success is seen as a result of “hard work and patience” (18: 544), personal response to challenge is also important.

While personal attitude and approaches are seen to play an important role in the success of the enterprise concerned, there is also an element of luck associated with the external business environment (10, 15, 17) and aspects of social and personal involvement that cannot be predicted or ignored. The rewards of success are both tangible, financial and non-tangible, personal benefits. For example, Respondent 20 comments on pride in both commitment to family business and financial success:

I could walk out of here now and get a job in half an hour's time ... But unfortunately family business is family business. The fact that I've made a success of the other two shops that we have, like the one down the road where you were last week. When we first came there, that was only doing one hundred and thirty thousand pounds a year. By the time I'd finished with it and moved on to the other shop down in Restalrig, we were doing three hundred thousand. You know what I mean. So it's a success, know what I mean? Then the other shop, when I went there it was only doing sort of like four thousand, four and a half thousand a week. Now it's reached six and a half thousand a week. Now this shop fortunately was doing quite good when I came here, when we bought this. But my young brother kind of ruined it quite a bit. So when I came back, erm, put the sales back up to normality. Then they opened the Scotmid across the road. So now I've got plans to make this turn around again. But I mean we've been successful. I think that's what keeps me going. As I say, it's like a family pride sort of thing, you know. (20: 112-38)

This is echoed by Respondents 1 and 2, who claim that “you cannot sell this business, is me xxxx, it will collapse without xxxx in six months” (1: 600), and

“loyalty lies with the business not with the money ... My concern is to be successful, make a name of our business ... I get a thrill” (2: 359-364).

The combination of tangible benefits from hard work, ‘luck’, and the non-tangible outcomes of interactions with the local community are illustrated in comments made by Respondent 10:

If the surrounding is suitable then there is no reason, no reason that one should fail if you can sort of put up the hours. (10: 392-394)

Some people are not lucky. They work hard day and night and end up somehow always in the wrong corner and if you are blessed with a little bit of money or a little bit of time, then I think everybody should share what they have ... The small things can give an awful lot of happiness to some underprivileged people and the people who are not very lucky as you are. (10: 453-455)

If you are honest with your own ambitions I think you manage ... First it was for me and now for the children. (10: 493-502)

Part of community. The community has given so much to us ... It is small things but it gives you enormous pleasure. (10: 556-587)

The decision to remain self-employed – in c-stores or alternative sectors – is seen as related to personal needs, ambitions, commitment and attitude. These issues are individualised in the example of Respondent 11:

But we are, er, refugee from India to Pakistan and my family always been ... My parents used to be quite well off but when we were kicked out from India from there religious rivals then we went to Pakistan, Lahore and er, we were looking for something to feed our family. So there were two reasons behind it – first thing is to get the education and to be supported to get them bread. That made me go anywhere in the world so I chose the UK. (11: 93-104)

First of all it's the confidence of having the ability. If I decided, I'm that kind of person, if I've decided something, I go for it. If I can't do anything I think before I start it and end up saying if I can't do it, I'm never doing it. Because I had no friends, no family, anybody to help me, I knew if I don't work hard then I will never do it. So I decided if I don't work hard now I will never make it. So it is hard work, confidence, seven days a week, 12 or 14 hours a day. At the end of the day it paid off. (11: 153-63)

But at the moment it is a matter of surviving not growing. It is all down to our hard work. (11: 304-6)

You have to do it. But before you start you have to think, make up your mind. Before you do it you have to believe in it for yourself. (11: 318-20)

My attitude to the other people is I respect them, and that's the way it should be. No matter what the colour or religion, whatever it is you have to be nice to them today or you cannot expect them to be nice to you tomorrow ... The other thing is my religion has played a large part in my self made struggle. I don't know much about religion, not about any religion even my own. But however I believe it. We in Islam says you think before you do but if you can't do it then do without it. And I strongly believe it. I started it even though it was a big risk and thought OK I've started it through the grace of god, and god helped me, that is my belief ... My advice to young men in this generation, regardless of race, colour or religion, if they want to do anything in business or in education they have to be very honest, hard working. And their honesty is the first place. (11: 362-454)

I always advised my children never promise if you can't do it and once you have committed yourself you have to do it. (11: 478-80)

### **Desire for independence**

The desire for independence is a strong motivating factor for entering and remaining in self-employment. The most frequently cited reasons given by Respondents 1, 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 18 and 19 is the advantage of being yourself and your own boss. Even though Respondent 5 stressed that the business was "a bad gift" (5: 28) that he could not get out of, he remains in business as:

Dealing with the public ... meeting different clientele ... provide service to the community ... It's never been the easiest path, because working for somebody else is not, erm, very easy either. Somebody giving you the orders, shouting at you and, you know... Be independent ... have your own place. Do what you feel is the best for you and for your business ... yes, that's it. (5: 310-325)

Being your own boss gives an individual freedom to make decisions about the extent of involvement in the business and avoids the need to rely on others for success. As Respondent 10 notes: "If the surrounding is suitable then there is no reason that one should fail if you can sort of put up the hours" (10: 392-394). In contrast, Respondent 18 focuses on being able to take time out of the business when desired, and self-employment being preferable to working for others:

Well mainly because you are your own boss. You have your own time, you know. You can do, you, if you want to go on holiday, or if you want to, you know, take some time off, you are your own boss and somebody can take over and you can go, you know, and nobody tells you what to do and that's it. [And that's the main thing. You wouldn't want to be working for someone else?] No. (18: 266-73)

The kids will take over, hopefully ... and they are good in the education, you know, and they will probably go into something else. They will find themselves something different, you know. Otherwise they will have the shops. [Would you prefer them to go into another job?] I would prefer them to go, you know, into something serious you know, with a profession. But I wouldn't want them working for someone else, you know, if they are not. Yes something, doing their own business, go into business, you know. (18: 370-83)

[It is better to have your own business than to work in a factory?] Yes, that's right, or a shop, you know. Yes, definitely. (18: 397-404)

The benefit is you are your own boss and the timing, you know. But I wouldn't suggest one person go on their own into, into this kind of business anyway, you know. Office type, maybe, but not the grocery or newsagents type of thing. I mean, one person cannot manage cash and carry and everything. You are on your own and you can't rely on your employees either because they can say 'oh, I am sick now' or things like that. (18: 547-55)

Being your own boss gives a degree of freedom to match work and personal, family life. However, the rewards are dependent on the effort put in to the business. As Respondent 19 stresses:

Having your own business has a lot, a lot of benefits. A lot of benefits. Working for somebody else, you always have to be there. I have to be here as well, I mean. But it's erm, it's, I don't see where you could get this many benefits working for somebody else. I think it's very impossible. The amount of planning that is generated. You know, having control over the work, what's going on and everything. You wouldn't get that anywhere else... I mean, nobody gives you money for nothing. You have to put in the hours. You have to put in the hours. You have to put in the time. You have to put in the weekends. No days off. All this stuff. You know, I mean, I don't care whether you work for yourself or for anybody else, you have to work hard to get what you want out of life. I mean, er, unless you just do it to pass the time and you have plenty of money. There's not a lot of people like that. People are working because they need to work, pure and simple. I wouldn't be working twelve, fourteen hours. Working all these hours and getting up at half past four in

the morning if I didn't think I was getting something back. You know, it would be silly. (19: 663-714)

In addition, independence brings with it responsibilities in both business, family and community life. As Respondent 1 comments:

You have to be yourself to have peace of mind ... Think through things properly not just do your own way ... I have to teach, I have to provide everything, but I am boss. It doesn't matter, I am responsible ... I have to look after others. It is my responsibility. (1: 905-915)

The degree of independence desired and achieved may be related to the extent of family ties and involvement in a particular business – potentially both positive and negative as Respondent 9 notes:

Working for myself gives better opportunities for making money and saving it. Working with friends and relatives is a good job but it is always a hand to mouth existence. There is not time to spend the money. [Are the rewards better?] No. All the money goes back to the family even if you are not close to it. The money is poor for yourself and it is not for your own family in the future. It is better to be by yourself and have all that you make. (9: 42-50)

In the case of Respondent 12 this desire for independence is not simply personal but family focused, and can only be achieved through working with his twin brother, with whom he also shares a close social, family life. While it may be hard to balance all the issues in running a business, for them the decision to remain small and independent is felt to be the best way for all concerned to be in agreement about business attitudes, development and the related benefits. He notes that working with the extended family succeeds because of the close bond between twins, but may not be the best solution for others. In addition, this close personal and business relationship results in easier decision-making when considering the implications of religious belief in accessing finance, product ranges and the extent of female family members' involvement in retail activities.

Respondent 20 shares these sentiments, both having experienced working for others and the increased satisfaction felt now working independently, although perceiving responsibilities for family members in similar businesses. While unsure of the

reasons for remaining in the c-store sector, he suggests that pride in personal ability and family success outweighs simply financial benefits and rewards:

[So why do you stay in it?] I don't know really. I really don't know. I mean, I could walk out of here now and get a job in half an hour's time. But unfortunately family business is family business. (20: 15-6)

But I mean we've been successful. I think that's what keeps me going. As I say, it's like a family pride sort of thing, you know. (20: 137-8)

And so now if somebody says something can't be done and, erm, there has to be a way. (20: 171-2)

Well it's not making a profit, well it is making a profit but only a very limited amount of profit. And, erm, in these days if you are making enough to pay the bills and cover the expenses you're doing no bad. But whereas if you went and got a job, you'd get a lot more money. For the number of hours we put in we are definitely not getting the rewards for it. (20: 227-36)

The independence that comes with self-employment also provides opportunities to face personal and business challenges (2, 6, 8, 15), while placing the business owner in a position of control (4, 6, 7, 14) and maximising profits (17).

As Respondent 2 stresses, "loyalty lies with the business not with the money ... My concern is to be successful, make a name of our business, make myself as important for the business. I get a thrill" (2: 359-364).

The element of continual challenge to succeed is also noted as a strong motivational factor by Respondent 6, who comments: "I try lots of things ... I like to gamble things. Like new things works. I think I've achieved quite a lot like that... I'm always willing to try. I'm willing to try anything" (6: 401-437).

This continual personal challenge is essential to Respondent 4, who sees the independence of self-employment in a range of sectors as a way to achieve personal and business aims.

I get bored very easy. That is me. I get bored very easy standing behind the counter ... I just wanted a new challenge ... Once I've got to that challenge I've got over it. I've just got to move on. Well that's me and that is why I like to introduce everyday new challenges so that I can take over and do what I want to do. (4: 141-151)



A challenge is difficult, the more you enjoy it ... like playing on a roulette wheel. They play for the buzz ... its not the amount of money ... I enjoy the challenge ... I couldn't work for anybody. I would find it very difficult. I've never worked for anybody in my life as such ... I've always been in business, in the family business. (4: 304-315)

It's sheer hard work ... I'm of an age to enjoy the challenges. If you asked me this question 10 years ago then I wasn't interested in business as such. I would do it, I would do the work and everything but, you know, I went through the phase when you just enjoy things. Now I enjoy the business ... that's what I thrive on. (4: 829-843)

Similarly, according to Respondent 7, if he is willing to work hard, being independent places the business owner in a position to learn by experience. By starting at the bottom and work your way up, you better yourself as “that in a sense drives you to do the things you do and you achieve your individual goals” (7: 385-388). The biggest asset to business success is seen as being “just the commitment to achieve something” (7: 423).

However, negative comments focus on the desire for independence being due to lack of trust in others (Respondent 11 finding that having several shops at one time provided opportunities for dishonesty among staff) and a desire to be less restricted by family obligations (Respondent 21 being beholden to father-in-law and brothers for UK residency and business opportunities).

Overall, the desire for independence driving individual decisions to enter and/or remain in self-employment is summarised by the simple statement by Respondent 15: “I can’t take a boss” (15: 76).

In addition, while good business practice may suggest Symbol Group membership as a strategy to counteract external business pressures from increased competition, economies of scale and changing consumer behaviour, this is seen as a threat to independence – the topic emerging as important during the data collection and analysis process and findings are presented in detail in Section 4.7.

### **Need for achievement**

Allied to a need for independence is a stated or implied need for achievement, this taking a range of forms: pride in success (1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 17), doing small things

well (9), loyalty, improved personal and close and extended family standards and status before solely financial success (2, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20), increased challenge and involvement (4, 6), and personal improvement, goals, future prospects and meeting external expectations (3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 21).

Pride in success is identified in terms of personal, family and business achievements. This is illustrated in the evolving business experience of Respondent 8. On leaving education early because “I hated school, as simple as that. I hated school and I wanted to get out” (8: 16), he joined his brother in Edinburgh. The two established and developed a c-store in the city, becoming Asian Traders of the Year after six years in business. Despite this business achievement, personal and family conflict resulted in the partnership ending and success being identified as meeting personal goals unrelated to financial or business success. On marriage and the related family responsibilities, financial success once more became important, but tempered by the desire to balance work and family life. As the following extracts from the interview show, achievement is now measured more in terms of recognition in both the South Asian and wider Edinburgh community as someone who has achieved something, both in terms of business, financial success and family standing.

To be honest I have now a smaller vision of achieving something at the end of the day, you know than when I was with my brother, you know but the separation was so painful, like. The drive, the ability, I've just lost it after that. I mean, in 1988, 89 when I entered that competition, er, I was at my prime. Handling the shop, handling the staff, merchandising, everything. [And what do you think drove you at that time?] It was enthusiasm. It was like a striker, you know you had to go for goal, you know. That's what I had. I thought 'if I can be successful here, hopefully I can maybe expand, you know have a chain of shops, you know, or even go to something bigger like cash and carry, sub-post offices'. You know, it was just a, a business greed, you know, for more than money, you know. [So it was the business you were greedy for?] Not only. [It wasn't the actual cash so long as you'd got enough to] It was to be successful and to be recognised, you know, like, in the Asian community and even in Edinburgh. This chap started from somewhere and look where he is now, you know. You know, the Harrods and Jenners people and you know, these people started from drugstore salesmanship. Or Robert Wiseman started from nothing. [So at that point these people, they were your goals?] Absolutely, yes, absolutely. [And now you're happy to just] Plod along, aye. [Do you think it's age that has come in to that?] I was only in my twenties then, in my late teens actually when my brother and I started the shop. And work was not a problem. I could go on twenty-four hours, seven days a week you know. But now I can barely manage seven,

eight hours in here. You become lazy. I have become lazy or I just can't do it any more. I haven't found out which is, which it is at the present moment. I find it a real effort to stay more than five or six hours in the shop. [And that's it. You are quite happy. You've got your wife, your kids.] Yes I am happy. I am quite content, you know. My mortgage is paid at the end of the month you know. My wife has a lovely car to take the kids to school. I, er, I would say my liabilities are being met at the end of every month so. (8: 520-562)

The follow-up visit towards the end of the extended time scale of the research shows Respondent 8 to still be operating the micro c-store, maintaining his independence and increasingly able to achieve the desired work/life balance.

Although the subject is not addressed by all respondents, the range of motivating factors is also illustrated in the range of sources of inspiration noted. At one extreme are financially successful business moguls such as Richard Branson (4) and self-made migrants, the most well-known example being Robert Maxwell (Respondent 10 stressing that this source of inspiration was before any involvement in less than honourable business dealings). Both Respondents 4 and 10 continually reset personal and family goals and standards, are fiercely independent and ambitious. For Respondents 6, 7 and 8, inspiration for business start-up, continued involvement and measure of achievement comes from the example of individuals who have started with nothing and worked their way to the top – and as a result are recognised 'names' in the community. The final source of inspiration stated is the example of parents doing everything possible to improve and maintain standards and opportunities for their family in the UK and Pakistan (12) and historical extended family traditions.

As Respondent 11 notes:

Xxxx means landlord. Of course it is a common name but our name means lord, you know, landlord, the people who own lots of the land and businesses plus land. But land is more important than the businesses for our culture. (11: 93-7)

I don't know, maybe something in my gene because my whole family is still, the rest of the family in Pakistan they are all in businesses. (11: 145-6)

### **Needs priorities**

For many business owners interviewed (Respondents 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 and 14) priorities are driven by a need to find or make a place in society and build and maintain the family and business name and/or reputation. In addition Respondents 3, 4, 7 and 9 cite financial success as shaping business priorities, with businesses 6, 10 and 20 providing a continual challenge, an important aspect of satisfying individual needs.

For Respondents 5, 7, 8, 17, 18, 20, and 21, creating and sustaining wider opportunities for future generations is a driving force in the decision to enter or remain in self-employment – in both the c-store and wider micro-enterprise sectors.

The priority for business owners 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18 and 19 is the independence gained from being one's own boss. In addition, Respondents 12 and 18 make a priority of meeting the demands of their Muslim beliefs in the way they conduct business and personal life – even if this restricts opportunities for business funding, expansion, and profits. The potential impact of religious beliefs on business is covered more fully in the following section: Tradition vs individual ambition.

Respondent 11 includes land ownership, education, independence and achieving his potential as being of equal importance, and Respondent 2 stresses a need to remain involved in running the enterprise on a day-to-day basis as a priority in maintaining standards and thus improving the family and business reputation in both the South Asian and mainstream Edinburgh communities.

Respondent 21 is unique in stating personal safety as the most important concern, this in response to having been the victim of an armed robbery on the shop – although perceived as a small shop issue rather than having racist undertones.

### **Tradition vs individual ambition**

Key motivating factors in the business entry and continuing c-store involvement are stated as family (3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 21) and religion (1, 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 20); there being both a link and the potential for conflict between traditional demands and expectations and personal ambitions (1, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21). While Respondent 12 perceives an equity between individual and traditional factors, achieving personal satisfaction is more important for Respondents 2, 10, 13, and 17

and the driving motivator for Respondents 1 and 19 is the aims, demands and responsibilities of the business enterprise. However, according to Respondents 4, 5 and 6, this tension between individual ambition and the demands of family and ethnic community tradition is changing – a topic more widely explored in Section 4.6 Generational Issues and Succession Planning.

Although declining to comment in detail, Respondent 14 notes a perceived expectation and pressure to follow close and extended family business patterns, while Respondent 11 echoes this theme by stressing the traditions and expectations attached to his family name when making his business entry decision.

Family role models are also a strong motivator. As Respondent 7 notes, “if you take it, apart from following in someone’s footsteps when you want to work for yourself because your family’s been self-employed, you want to be self-employed” (7: 98-100).

This experience is similar to that of Respondent 19, who felt an initial obligation to join his father in the new family business venture recommended by members of the extended family but now would not choose alternative employment. The example and role model of father and brother subsequently inspired other family members to enter self-employment in c-store ownership (Respondents 20 and 21) – operating three independent but linked businesses with the Respondent 20 making strategic decisions in his role as eldest son:

My brother-in-law and, er, my sister they do that. Yes, my sister does that but I mean, if there’s any problems I have to go and sort them out. It’s all good and well them having everything done for them, but we’re really having to make a decision ...it was then that I decide to say ‘right’, being the eldest person I took the decision. (20: 150-153, 363)

The positive role of parental aspirations in the decision to enter self-employment is stressed by Respondent 4, who comments that the responsibilities to join his father in business was an aspect of being the eldest son. His own plans to continue in education were overridden, in contrast to his sisters who have both followed their own career choices. However, he adds that “I had my own plans but I got involved in the business and more and more I did with it, the more and more I enjoyed it” (4:

929-931). The family influence is also included in the business aims of personal achievement and building the family name and reputation, although there will be less pressure on the next generation to continue in the business.

In contrast, the parental aspiration of Respondent 5 took a more negative role, with him being forced into business ownership as self-employment being seen as a means to improving status, security and opportunities for the future, and a preferred option to the 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants experience of employment in low level manufacturing and service industries; this tension continuing as Respondent 5 felt traditional, cultural values placed him in the position of being unable to go against his father's wishes by exiting the business.

In addition to family and traditional factors, religion plays an important role in shaping individual motivation and ambition. For Respondent 1 this is reflected in his attitude to a perception of the responsibility to guide and serve the community in both business and private life, and the related implication of showing respect for all:

In the same time no matter what religion you have, we are all, we are all, you know, human. So we have to respect each other, you know. And that is the tragedy, like, the fighting, you know. So I believe the leadership in the community you have to be like leaders who ready for leadership. Leadership here to guide the people, you know. You are not a leader, leader like a servant. You are servant to the community. Some of the leaders that I've seen it 'I sit in the chair and you respect me' you know. It doesn't work. You have to respect somebody. Ha, and you got bosses that's not a boss, you know, if you are not proper bosses that's a problem, you know. (1: 187-199)

For Respondent 12, culture, religious beliefs and principles are an important motivating factor. His business aim is to do well for his and his twin brother's children and be good example of the Muslim way of life. A strong religious belief and the resultant desire to promote Islamic life principles as the best way for all people while respecting good Christian living people impacts on his approach to business. While both brothers have no time for people who do not have respect for others and try to do good in life they are not greedy or ambitious as it is going against having and showing respect for others if you take from them, cheat or put them out of business.

This influence of religion on business practice and development is also noted by Respondent 10: not marrying and having a family until in possession of a house, developing a business empire of micro enterprises to provide family longer term economic security, and continuing to meet financial commitments to the wider family and community in his home area of Pakistan.

In practical terms, Respondent 18 notes the impact of Muslim belief on the nature and extent of his immediate and wider Edinburgh family business activity:

We all work together as part time so that we can look after the shops. We have three or four shops that we can look after between us. [Do you have other family in Edinburgh apart from your immediate family, your brothers, do you have] Yes we have lots of cousins, yes... Yes they're all in shops. We are also restricted in what we can do because we are Muslim... That influences us. It makes a difference, you know, because we can't go for the, you know, off licence or anything, you know. Yes some people don't feel that you know... The bigger shops are mostly off licences and if you take the off licence away from the shop it makes a difference. [And you definitely wouldn't do that?] No. So far we have been able to stay away from it and shops like that. [And if you manage to survive then it saves that conflict] That's right. Yes... You have to draw a line, yes.. It also influence the way you speak to people, you know, and the way you handle the customer. [So then that affects how much involved you are in the business, and various members of the family as well, I presume?] Yes, all of us and what we do [So, but obviously you've survived and you're doing very well] We've survived so far yes. (18: 114-157)

However, on a more negative note, Respondents 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 20 and 21 stress that the implications of both tradition and religion can be a demotivating factor in business entry and development decision making. In financial terms, Respondents 7, 8 and 20 note the tension between cultural and religious requirements and the business aims of making maximum profits. This principally revolves around the sale of alcohol and 'top shelf' publications, with personal beliefs giving way to good business practice, as illustrated by comments from Respondent 7:

If you started doing that there would be loads of things in the shop you couldn't sell. That would be stupid ... You're not exactly in Pakistan where you can do that, right. You have to go with what people want ... You're meant to provide a service. You are trying to build a business not trying to get rid of the customers ... It shouldn't affect what you do in your business. You keep it separate, you have to. (7: 520-43)

This decision may only come following difficult personal conflict, as noted by Respondent 20:

I mean, the situation is, like I said, it is very difficult. At the moment we need financial security. That's why we are doing this. I mean, if I was well off I would still sell alcohol. The simple reason, what I just said earlier on is that so long as I don't touch it, there's no way it is a sin. If I don't sin, it's OK. All I'm doing is only touching the glass and serving the customers, the main purpose of being in business. (20: 599-605)

For Respondent 8 the conflict took the form of family pressures to enter a suggested marriage, the rejection of which resulted in changed business opportunities, access to finance and family support. These issues have since been resolved but are still an underlying motivating factor influencing c-store involvement business approaches adopted as a means "to be successful and to be recognised, you know, like, in the Asian community and even in Edinburgh. This chap started from somewhere and look where he is now" (8: 538-540).

Possibly the most successful and appropriate way in which to gain the maximum motivation from the tension between tradition and personal ambition is the view expressed by Respondent 15. Self-employment was seen as the opportunity to make a new start upon marriage, and the motivation to improve family status and security is through being open minded and willing to learn, embracing change in business and society, and being involved in local and ethnic communities:

There are changes. The way things are going here, the community has to change with the times. They cannae, you know, the things you did ten, fifteen year ago, you cannae do now... It's funny to feel on my part, you know, just the way you do business or try to get on with the customers. You know, to try to be part of the community, I think that helps us a lot you know. [And is there any skill you'd like to have that you think would enhance your business? Something you've thought 'if only I could ...' or 'if only I knew more about ...' ] Well there's always, you're never too old to learn, lets put it that way. You know, if there ever was anything new then I am always willing to try it you know. (15: 230-232, 554-563)

### **Attitude to work ethic, society, tradition and individual ambition**

In addition to the factors identified above, day-to-day work practices, and short, medium and longer term business strategies are also linked to individual attitudes,



developed in part by individual perceptions of the range of influences identified in the following section.

The majority of those interviewed (7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20) placed personal aims and individual ambition as important in determining attitudes to society and work ethics.

Social responsibility is an important factor to Respondents 1, 2 and 5, with Respondents 3 and 10 stressing the role of their specific ethnic minority community in shaping business aims and approaches. The importance of being of value to ethnic minority communities within Edinburgh society is noted by Respondent 3. In addition to this minority community involvement and responsibility, Respondents 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15 and 19 see involvement with the local, mainstream community as essential – both on personal and business levels. Respondents 1 and 10 are Justice of the Peace for whom both ethnic minority and mainstream community involvement is essential:

Because, you know, what I would say is ‘do a bit of community work, serve up to the other people’. (4: 541)

The small things what everyone should do. Everyone is community. We are part of the community. The community has given so much to us. [And do you feel that you have been made welcome by the Edinburgh community?] We are all very much settled here. In the beginning we had the problems like everybody else. But once you develop the understanding and things become easier. No one will accept you straight away, no way. No, doesn’t matter who you are, where you come from. In the beginning, you see, nobody has come from here, you outsiders. Once, over the period, you find somebody is standing here talking, and then you find a ‘hello’. (4: 566-81)

Family future, advancement and longer term financial success are key to understanding the development of enterprises 2, 4, 18 and 19.

Comments include:

My concern is to be successful, make a name of our business ... to carry the name of xxxx for 100 years. (2: 360, 699)

The business I am building .. it is for the family. (4: 919-21)

The kids will take over, hopefully. Hopefully, but it is up to them ... It is better to have something of your own. (18: 371-2, 400)

And I thought if I don't give him a hand now they'll all say, you know 'we weren't able to do this and do that'. So for the good of the family type of thing we may as well just get stuck in, hey? So I came up with him. (19: 354-7)

#### **4.4 Individual perceptions**

##### **Issues**

Family and community influences

Racial issues and constraints

Business success – potential, realistic, reasons for difference

##### **Rationale for inclusion**

Identify influence on business approach of personal/family/community experience

Identify barriers/opportunities for business success

Identify perceived individual/family/community constraints

##### **Findings**

###### **Family and community influences**

There is a stated strong influence of family and parents traditions on c-store involvement for all respondents except Respondent 1, who stresses the influence of religious leaders as guides and influence in both personal, community and business life. This issue was particularly relevant at the time of the interview, conducted on 12 September 2001, and the potential for increased racial tension and retaliation following the terrorist attacks in America. However, in the Edinburgh context he also notes that this influence lessens with increased integration with the mainstream community, noting the high extent of cohesion between mainstream and minority communities in the city. This factor is also acknowledged by Respondent 16, who perceives a stronger continued traditional influences in larger minority communities less integrated with the mainstream.

There is a varied influence of the Edinburgh Pakistani community links on business decisions. While family influence is the strongest motivating factor for Respondents 2, 3, and 4, there a limited and changing perceived Pakistani community influence on business decisions for Respondents 2, 6, 9, 12. Strong minority community links are

perceived by Respondents 1, 3, 6, 8 and 10, but for Respondent 9 relationships with the local community are more important as:

I have a good relationship with the local community as we all moved in together when the scheme was built ... I have a good relationship with my customers. I am well known in the area. Of course, you get some who are fussy sometimes and make life hard for you. But it is not a personal thing, they are just fussy people. (9: 64-5, 105-8)

Minority community members exert both pressures and support on businesses, as illustrated by the experience of Respondent 11's attitude:

I did have conflict once or twice with my own people as well. But when I explained to them they understood my point very well and I explained one or two conflict I had. I had some people came to my shop with the big beard, some people and they asked me what you doing this is against the religion. They said this is against your religion you shouldn't be selling it. I said listen, I am selling it, I believe I am not drinking it because I know that is against my religion and I just don't. But the thing is, if you want to live here, don't go down this position, for god's sake don't go to extreme. If you go too extreme probably you will clash with your own communities and the other people. I feel I am not drinking it, not touching it, it is all in the bottle, I am only making my living. And if you want some donation from me, in the beginning the people were very strict but not now, I feel that is missing. I also sell bread, I also sell butter, beans, tomatoes. If you are wanting a donation it also comes from the bread, butter and so on. If you can only think that the money has come from the alcohol then you are too narrow, you are too strict. My money comes from all the things I am selling. If you are too strict, if you push me too hard then I will probably leave the religion all together. And I mean it when I am saying it because to my belief, if I believe in my religion I believe in all of it. Of course I can't tell you the things Islam has said from A to Z, but I will do whatever I can do to follow the rules. (11: 386-412)

This tendency on the part of community members to interfere is noted by Respondent 16, and seen as an implication of being a very small section of the city population. Similarly Respondent 17 comments on the existence of close Edinburgh Pakistani community links but perceives being less interference in business activity than in larger minority communities elsewhere in the UK.

For many respondents (1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21) religion remains a strong influence on business strategies – impacting on approach, finance, stock,

labour etc to varying degrees – and creating tension between acknowledged good business practice and personal beliefs. This is illustrated by the comments made by Respondents 1 and 21:

We have a cultural activities. We have a friend with our local people. So we invite our occasion like wedding or anything the local or anything. Majority people come with us, they are local people. so we invite them, they invite us. Er, still we are in culture, you know people. We kept our cultures, you know. But we would never loose our identity, you know. Our children, also they are not lost, you know. They feel as they are Scottish, they feel also they are part of the Pakistani. Er, more, about 99 percent of them they are Muslim, you know. So they're, they have been given education for the religion. But not a fanatic, you know, religious here, you know. They are knowing well this life, you know, the pillars of Islam. It doesn't mean that you are aggressiveness, you know. But still you have to follow Muslim, you can sit all of the people together, you know, Muslim, Christian, all the other people. Same, like a culture diversity. There needs to a much culture. [Has that made a problem for the young people?] Well, I don't think so. Our community have very hardly have suffered. Er, they know they are the both sides. They know the western culture. There is the problem because when they come home they are to a different discipline. But they are not like opposed to do discipline. They are, you know, like how you are bring to your family. For our family, it knows that they are all human. So there is no discrimination for anybody. But if he, my son, has another friend of Scottish family I am happy to take him out. But I am not going to tell my son to take a drink or any hard drink or anything for our religion. But nobody forcing him to do it. Like I am the Rotary Club member. When I go to club most the people drink, you know the alcoholic. But I don't drink. They're, they respect. Respect. And I respect what they do. Yea. So these I have no problems. You know like, if you go to Pakistan, like the modern generation. They feel like I'm going from London, I don't drink it is funny. But this is my discipline, my lively discipline, you know . I don't know what will happen next, my son and daughter, but as far as I know they will keep the discipline, you know . Our religion says we cannot touch the drink, but I am selling the drinks, you know. The problem is that because you are in other country. If I don't sell it or sell it doesn't matter. My business, because the majority of my customers, 99 percent customer is British customer. So if I don't sell the drinks, is I've not got any business, you know. The same time, I don't drink myself, it doesn't normally stop me if I don't drink. (1: 61-113)

Oh yes, the problem is there. The problem is always there because religion wise we shouldn't do it ... That's the problem. Maybe something else would be better to have if my father-in-law would let me. But I am not happy about selling it. I heard, I don't know if it's right religion wise, about people selling alcohol, Muslims like, and unfortunately their kids go bad right. I don't know, just unlucky. And their money, any money

they have they can't do anything. You know, just go waste it anywhere. Some have their car get broken somewhere. Always something happening. My cousins, two, three families of my cousins are in shops. No alcohol. They are progressing very, very well. We, we in our family, have the alcohol. Our family does not progress. Any business we start is no good. The same as me. I don't know where the money goes. I can't even go on holiday any more. You know ... It is a problem for poor Muslim anyway, and therefore I don't like to. (21: 377-99)

This conflict is echoed by typical comments regarding business strategy:

Because ... it's OK if you are dealing with the Asian community for your customers. But we don't get any Asian customers ... If you look at it from a business point of view, you have your off license then they buy something else ... If the Asian community want to expand they are going to have to ... If you are going to run a convenience store you have to provide the service. (6: 354-93)

[You don't have any conflict with selling alcohol and] You mean religious wise? [Yes.] No. If you started doing that there would be loads of things in the shop you couldn't sell. That would be stupid ... You're not exactly in Pakistan where you can do that, right. You have to go with what people want ... You're meant to provide a service. You are trying to build a business not trying to get rid of the customers ... It shouldn't affect what you do in your business. You keep it separate, you have to. (7: 523-43)

In contrast, for Respondent 18 religious principles outweigh good business practice:

We are also restricted in what we can do because we are Muslim. That influences us. It makes a difference, you know, because we can't go for the, you know, off licence or anything, you know. Some people don't feel that, you know. The bigger shops are mostly off licences and if you take the off licence away from the shop it makes a difference. [And you definitely wouldn't do that?] No. So far we have been able to stay away from it and shops like that. [And if you manage to survive then it saves that conflict] That's right. Yes. You have to draw a line, yes. It also influence the way you speak to people, you know and the way you handle the customers. [So then that affects how much involved you are in the business, and various members of the family as well, I presume?] Yes, all of us and what we do. We've survived so far yes. (18: 123-157)

The relative importance of these factors is linked to the business owner's perception of their embeddedness in the mainstream community and changing sojourner mentality. For Respondents 1, 4 and 10, business is inevitably entwined with mainstream and minority community life, this echoed by Respondents 14 and 15 who

regard themselves as part of the Scottish community. Respondent 20 who takes this perception of embeddedness further, seeing their family as English migrants to Scotland:

I was first told when I came up here in Leith was that one, you are in Leith and you are not in Edinburgh. You're a Leither. Secondly, what ever you learned from down south, you're not just a thing, you are Scottish so forget England. I mean, it's like the old Paul Young song 'where ever I lay my hat, is my home'. That's the case here. Work here, stay here. This is as good as my home. (20: 553-8)

In addition, Respondents 1, 3, 4, 6, and 10 comment on the changing degree of these traditions and values with subsequent generations, and, although family demands, expectations and aspirations influence individual business entry and development or exit decisions (4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 19, 21), there is an increasing tendency to encourage second and third generation community members to take up other education and employment options before making the c-store involvement decision (2, 4, 6, 9, 10), these topics being presented in detail in Section 4.6.

### **Racial issues and constraints**

For the majority of respondents (1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21), racial issues and constraints are less evident in Edinburgh than elsewhere in the UK. This is seen as being the result of a combination of factors: the Edinburgh ethnic minority community size and location spread throughout the City (1, 2, 4, 10, 17, 19), the extent of integration with the mainstream community (2, 4, 10, 17, 19, 20, 21), and high levels of shared community involvement and standards (3, 4, 6, 10, 12, 15, 21).

While Respondent 4 comments that there are a minority of racists in any location, Respondents 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 13 report limited personal racist experiences. This is seen as being due to issues of ignorance and misunderstanding (5, 6, 8, 10) – Respondent 5 stressing that prejudice is the result of “sheer ignorance ... lack of understanding of other peoples' culture or why they are here" (5: 176) and that "Jealousy comes in to it because they just don't understand the conduct of business" (5: 202). Even Respondent 21, the only respondent to have been directly affected by

personal attack, places the blame on individuals rather than the majority population, saying “OK, two are bad, not the rest” (21: 35-6).

In general, there is a perception that any antagonism has diminished over the years and with latter generation migrants born in Scotland and elsewhere in the UK (4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14). This is illustrated by the experiences of Respondent 8 on coming to Edinburgh in 1982, taking over an empty c-store with encouragement by the City Council and gradually gaining acceptance in the local community and also receiving the Asian Trader of the Year Award in 1989:

The language was a problem at first rather than anything else. Not the language, sorry, it was the accent .... I think we were quite fortunate that our shop was, er, in a I would say working class area then, Lady Nairn Place, at Jock's Lodge ... my brother or I arrived to open up at half past six in the morning and where there until half past six at night. And, er, for the first three months of us trading there, erm, there was so much hatred. It was 'oh, the Pakis have arrived' [You felt that was really quite strong?] It was actually. They would not even make an effort to come in. They would open the door half way, look all round, then look back out again to see if there was anyone watching they wouldn't come in if there was any of their friends around. They would say 'you weren't going in to the Paki's were you?' [Do you think it was personal or] Oh aye, it was personal. [Was is you, or Asians in general.] Asians in general. [It's not as if it was you personally they had something against?] Oh, no, no, no. It was against Asians in general, you know. Because, you see, it's not as if we were the first Asians to come to Edinburgh. There had been Asians living here since the 60s, late 50s, you know. But we were the first in the area. There was no-one there before that, we were the first in to that area ... Well we were actually in two minds about closing up the shop, or grin and bear it and hope for the best, you know. Er, I mean there was no personal kind of, there was no attack on the shop, there was no racial abuse. It could have been worse, you know. [So you decided to stick it out.] We decided to stick it out, absolutely... Then they came in, they had to have their paper before they could have their breakfast like ... So, erm, they decided to come in, I mean, I was exactly, I'm probably worse now because at that time, you know, our friend told us 'be nice to the customers, don't forget you please and thank yous, always say good morning, good afternoon when they come in and that can we help you with this and that' you know. Er, that was the way we did it then, I've kind of wised up on that now. I think that did help sort of, the welcome when they came in to our shop ... They began to say we were OK to shop with after all 'they are kind to us, they are polite, you know, they have what we want, why don't we go there'. [How long did it take for them to come round to you?] I would say three months, and then it was after the shop closed, then that was it. Then it was up and up and up. A

couple of years late we decided to buy the shop next door, combine the two together, make into a mini-market, you know. Did it all up, had the shop refit. Our sales went from £5000 to £10000 per week. That was so for four or five years. (8: 152-98, 218-243)

However, perceived issues and tensions may not necessarily prove to be a limitation to business success, as in the case of Respondent 19, who explains:

When we came in we were thinking ‘this is a tough act to follow, sixteen, seventeen years’ and we’ve been here that long ourselves now so, I mean it’s er, [How did people take to you when you came?] Erm, not bad. I mean, well I think, er, a few, I think people were, er, used to, you know George and his wife and his family, you know, because I think his daughter used to work in the shop as well and so did his wife Betty, you know. But I mean, erm, yes, I think they sort of came round to our way. It was quite easy, it was an easy transition. It is a good area. You don’t get a lot of hassle, well we didn’t get a lot of hassle until recently. (19: 106-16)

These changing attitudes may also be linked to attitude to customers and reputation for good service and standards, as Respondents 14 and 11 note:

It doesn’t matter how you treat your customers, it’s how the customers treat you as well. It works both ways... Word of mouth is always much better even if like this in here. Because before it was dirty now it is much tidier, the people are nicer and before they were rude. You know, the guy that had it before would just throw the bag at the customers, but know just look at that [indicates staff putting goods in carrier] we have a good level of staff. (14: 137-8, 249-54)

Even in my area, the people are so nice. They always say ‘hello Mr xxxx’ even when we are not in the shop. And the other people coming into the shop in different parts of the city. People’s attitudes are different in this area. The people are so nice. I didn’t find any racial abuse or anything like that. As long as you are nice to them, they will be nice. And I believe it. If I use force to somebody for no reason, they will use force back. And I have advised to my son that service and the hygienic of your shop is more important. (11: 273-81)

There was concern for Respondents 1, 2, 4 and 10 that tensions and attitudes may alter in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11 2001 – the day before data collection commenced, however this did not seem to be the case as later respondents (6, 7, 8, 14, 17, 19, 20 and 21) perceive potential for conflict to be related more to generic Asian and c-store external business issues than individual or community



racial tension. However, Respondent 3 perceives ongoing inter-community tension and an underlying institutional racism as, when asked “Do you feel that the Pakistani community is well received still in Leith?” he responded:

Um, I think in general, yes. There are, of course, negative elements within all society. Er, I wouldn't over state that by saying that is any more in Leith, but there certainly have been problems related to racism. [Has that increased over the last unfortunate six weeks?] Well it certainly [obviously it's changed life for everybody]. Yes it's a complete whole issue. We've had the bomb just round the corner, petrol bomb. I'm on the executive committee of the Pakistan Society which runs that Mosque and, er, that's been devastating for the whole community. Quite shocking as well. But we also have had tremendous support in the aftermath of that from local people, the community, the neighbours. We've had letters, we've had people popping in just to say, you know so. So that shows that the white local community is actually OK. But myself I am concerned about racism, er, to paraphrase MacPherson is in an institutional format, em, and, you know, at a level which is not sort of in your face, erm, blatant violence. [Do you think that is increasing or, I mean how does it show itself?] Yea, I don't know if I can answer whether it's increasing. I think there is an increasing awareness of it and I'm glad to say there is an encouragement of institutions post MacPherson, the MacPherson report, you know, actually taking that on board. And many of them have, erm, done a lot of work to address that. Some, unfortunately, don't seem to have done a great deal, so [So there are still these underlying barriers to the ethnic minority community, but largely unspoken but are inherently there?] To be an environment by which the, er, ethnic minority community do feel excluded on a, a number of fronts be that socially or economically, erm, or even in relation to sports and things. (3: 396-431)

Only Respondents 7 and 11 note racial elements in employment and business options and issues, although not experienced personally and local issues more related to the c-store sector and community issues rather than racially motivated, Respondent 7 commenting:

If you take it, apart from following in someone's footsteps when you want to work for yourself because your family's been self-employed, you want to be self-employed. I mean, there's other factors as well. I think it's a lot more difficult for coloured people to get jobs, no offence, than opposed to white people. I've experienced it with friends, I mean. [Do you think that's a big factor in Edinburgh? I wouldn't say that it's as bad as down south but, erm, it does play a part in things. I mean, even running a shop has problems. [Yes. How did you find people reacted to you when you opened the shop, or had it been an Asian owned shop before?] It was actually an Italian guy used to run the shop about twenty years ago. Um, and then he moved and it was my dad who took over the shop. You see we used to have the shop across the road. We've only had

this shop about seven years, we used to have the shop across the road... Reaction from local people at the time was OK, going from memory. As time goes on attitudes have changed. [For the better or the worse?] For the worse I'd say. You see the thing is, I mean, dad bought the shop and he ran it. I mean you grow up with people. You grow, I mean you maybe do get problems initially. But you grow up with the local kids and you know them, they know you. So the chances of trouble, you know the parents, the chances of trouble is less as opposed to, as opposed to just going in to a new area altogether and buying a shop. That, that, that's where the problems start. I wouldn't want to do that, now. I know that one guy that had bought, it was in Saughton. It was a few years back he bought a shop in Saughton. He had, he was quite well off like, he had a number of shops all over the place. Not just Edinburgh but Dunbar, where was it, Armadale, all over the place. So it's not like he was new to it. I mean, the shop he bought in Saughton was a nightmare. He bought the shop. He had a lot of problems with young people stealing. Stealing cars and ramming it in to the shop at night. People threatening, drug addicts threatening him with syringes and so on. He eventually gave it all up to get away from it all. (7: 98-140)

In addition, Respondent 3 is hopeful that increased personal and community involvement in liaising with local government, council officials and social services may be the way to minimise underlying institutional racism experienced by some new migrants to the City.

### **Restrictions to business success**

The prime restrictions to business success focus on external factors including: increased competition and consumer change (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19), bureaucracy, institutional racism, local and national business and planning policies, and access to finance (1, 3, 7, 12, 19), limited financial and human (1, 4, 6, 8, 13, 16, 17, 19). These issues impact on good business practice (4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19, 21) and relate to lack of personal skills and planning (2, 3).

The key internal factor – the focus of this study - restricting business success is the need to satisfy personal motivators of pride in success, independence and achieving work/life balance (3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 18, 21).

For Respondent 3 these restrictions are also linked to conflicting family support, pressures and parental aspirations:

They were all rooting for me. I had a reasonable amount of family support ... My parents, my father in particular, my parents always had aspirations for us all to actually not, not be left in the shop and were actually quite disappointed while we were doing that. (3: 168-169, 265-268)

## **4.5 Ethnic strategies**

### **Issues**

Opportunity structures – market conditions, access to ownership

Group characteristics – predisposing factors, family and community resources

Business strategies – family and co-ethnic labour, finance and markets, diversification in product and market

Business assistance – awareness, uptake, expectations

Personal impact on business development – competition, trading environment, business strategies, personal factors of age, training and motivation

### **Rationale for inclusion**

Identify similarities/differences in micro/larger community business approach/issues

Assess extent of internal/external factor priorities

### **Findings**

#### **Opportunity structures**

The principle features of access to the c-store sector are immediate and extended family business activity (2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21) and the identification of gaps in the market and changing consumer demands (1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 19); according to Respondents 8 and 9, the latter being influenced by local development policies.

While there are potential limitations to opportunities relating to language skills and ethnicity (1, 7, 21), these can be overcome by hard work (10, 11) and are changing with time, generations of migrants and business ownership and social and economic conditions (1, 6).

#### **Group characteristics**

The key group characteristic is the availability of family human and financial resources (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21), this being closely

linked to close and extended family predisposition to self-employment (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21).

Use of ethnic community resources are a strong characteristic of Respondents 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, and 14, although Respondents 4 and 5 stress their preference to avoid using community finance.

The strength of community ties is important to Respondent 1, as is the extent of ethnic and mainstream community integration in Edinburgh for Respondent 15.

The future positive impact of these group characteristics is noted by Respondents 3, 6 and 8, and questioned by Respondent 18.

### **Business strategy**

Business strategies focus on the need to meet changing consumer needs, set and maintain standards, and diversify products and services accordingly (1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20). This can be achieved by developing a reputation for honesty, hard work and good service (6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21), ongoing skills training (1, 3, 16, 20). As Respondent 2 comments: "we are selling ethnicity to the mainstream ... they are the ones who kept us going over the years" (2: 8-13). This is in part due to the micro-enterprise ability to adapt "for customers' convenience obviously but providing the customers' needs in a particular area ... you've got to adapt a bit, be sensitive" (5: 280). This strategy being a success even despite the increasing pressure and competition from local larger stores:

Business has been quite good, up and down, you know. It's just, erm, all these big players coming in, the supermarkets, twenty-four hours opening, you know. Um, it's altered the timing as well as the business. [Do you think they're your main competition?] Definitely. I mean there was a time, ten fifteen years ago when the only shops that opened late was the Asians, you know. I mean this started, this trend, but erm, in America its always been late shopping. But whereas in this country the supermarkets were closing five thirty. That's right. I mean, and Asians they had, they came in to business and they started to be open ten maybe half past ten and you know the future was you know gave then the advantage of a few hours to do the business. But gradually, you know, it has eroded that because the supermarkets they, you know, came into play opening late hours and erm [You haven't felt increased competition from other shops round about, other small shops? Erm, not really, no. It's not really the small shops. It's the big boys, you know, like Aldays and Spars and Costcutters and these people come in, twenty-four hours opening . There's a shop two doors, you probably noticed it. Aldays. It has a post

office within, to be sure an advantage, yea, yea. I mean, that's a big incentive for the customers. It's a footfall, you know. They go in, they've got a post office, they've got money, people got money, you know, whatever. Yes, they withdraw their money and they spend it there... Well that's what their intentions actually are basically. They, you know, they want to, er, close up the whole area of small shops, you know, all the independents. That's even they started selling videos, you know, off set from the beginning, um, hiring them, leasing them, whatever, you know, selling them. So they have slush machines. They have doughnut machines. They want to try anything and everything, you know. Just so that, you know all the small shops and that some are, in the hope eventually they will close up, they will go away, they will, you know, have the field to themselves as it were. But we still manage to stick by. (5: 50-95)

In addition, business strategies include making the best use of resources (2, 4, 5, 6, 11, 17, 18), although, according to Respondent 7, this can cause tension between market needs, traditional roles, attitudes to finance, and generational aspiration and motivation. These financial, human, and business advice and support resources take a range of forms: mainstream 2 4, 6 – personal and family 2, 3, 7, 10, 19 – community 3, 8.

Practical steps to implement strategies planned to maximise business opportunities include: taking a middleman position bridging ethnic and mainstream communities (2, 3, 12), symbol group membership (6, 9) or avoidance (7, 8), and exiting the sector when the business is no longer viable (4, 10, 16).

### **Business assistance**

While a number of those interviewed are aware of business support and advice (1, 2, 3, 4, 7 11, 16, 17, 18) others do not know of any sources of assistance (5, 6, 8, 9, 12 13). Only Respondents 2 and 4 sought external assistance when expanding activities in addition to the core c-store enterprise. However, for both this was not seen as particularly beneficial, as illustrated in the experience of Respondent 2:

[When you started the business, did you go to anybody for advice?] No. [Not even family?] No. We did it ourselves, yes. [Do you think, looking back, that you might have been better asking for help?] I don't think really we done bad in the sense that we done all this. I think at the time the authorities were not there to advise us because we were very unaware of it in then country for the smaller business and then. So that was the first error we made, which was the admin for the background. And then

the premises were getting smaller and smaller and we were asked to get in touch with the SEEL, it is now called SEEL it's changed it's name. And we found it extremely hard. Er, have you got your business plan and have you got your feasibility study done for the equipment. Have you got this and that done. Have you got penalties, have you got premises in mind. But we wanted things from them, their advice. But they wanted us to do everything. They were not helping at all in the beginning. But once I realised, er, there were things I had to do, then fine. This was over the last 15 years, erm. Then I took the initiative, we got a business friend and we got a feasibility study done for the equipment. Then we allocated the premises. Then they were all over us, they wanted to help... It was all after we, er, got the premises they said 'fine, now we will we will take you on board'... But from Scottish Enterprise we got one, um, er, officer or business advisor. And she, she came and advised us a lot. But then she, she felt that they had to do other matters and they had to move on. They wanted to know inside, outside the business, what was happening on a day to day basis. Then the restructuring came, they were, er, SEEL, and suddenly the whole picture changed. That officer was moved, a new officer came. And from then we, we hardly took any help from them at all because I think funding from the bank was withdrawn and they, we, even though we wanted to be left alone. We wanted to do our own thing. We wanted the time. We did our plan. We did our strategy. We did our marketing planning. And we knew what we had to do to move forward. And I think we implemented everything. So, um, we felt as we wanted to be left alone to er develop further instead of having expert advice and spending more and more on reserves. Because how should this, we felt it was too much for us. (2: 171-229)

The opinion that external business support is of little value is shared by Respondents 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 15, 17 and 18, the preferred choice being family (3, 6 10, 11, 12) and community (19, 20, 21) sources and trade press and representatives or symbol group membership (6, 8, 9, 21). However, Respondent 20 stresses that problems requiring support, advice and the appropriate skills training do not simply effect Asian businesses but are generic small business problems:

It's a, it's a general thing with everybody. Um, but it's not just Asians. I just think Asians are more highlighted because they run small businesses more often than the English people or the white people, you know, nothing against them like. But you find it in any business, any person. (20: 396-400)

For Respondent 3 there is a perception that the advice on offer is of limited use as:

I certainly didn't expect to be led on as much about all sorts of help that was available which, you know, seemed to be talking the talk but nothing more. So I would have preferred generally to have been told a lot less if

you like ... What I would of liked is the pitfalls of a small business explained a little bit more ... They covered the very basis things which other people may very well of found useful ... I hadn't been the one who had dealt with the paperwork side of things so I would have found that explained a bit more. (3: 127-143)

In addition, Respondent 4 is of the opinion that there is a general lack of awareness of the assistance available among advice agency staff, saying:

We're not familiar with all the grants, what's available. I'm not aware of it at all, although we're pretty active as well. Er, we don't get told of what's available... Nobody's ever said to me this is available for training, or this is available to put in your shop ... We wanted to find somebody, to take on staff. We asked this guy to come down. He didn't tell us nothing about what was available ... we spoke to some other chap. He said 'well there is subsidise, the government subsidise this'. He went through and he was very helpful to us and we didn't know that. Maybe he, the first guy, he didn't know either... We used to have one manager XX. He was a very, very active manager. It depends on the person and every day he would come here and make an excuse ... just to come and ask 'how's everything?' you know, and you would ask any problems and that sort of thing and I said to him the problems ... he was the only person that was so much 'you can get this, you can get that' at that time ... he was so good, an excellent manager ... he's gone to bigger projects now. Unfortunately this other manager which was there you have to phone ... you call him, it's like two or three days or next week and by that time there's no point. (4: 83-85, 105-115, 259-282)

It is also interesting to note that the focus on making money takes priority over bureaucracy:

The aim for the business is always the money ... some people make it, some people don't ... The customer is pleased and he will remember that. He'll come back. So it's the courtesy, hard work, that's the second name of success ... They [small businesses] lack the information about the finance. most of the people they don't know how to go to the bank, how to cope with the VAT, just on the form side, always behind ... I'm paying more because mismanagement always causes problems. But when someone's showing you the money, then that comes first because you're looking at it and that's the invisible profit ... You learn from your mistakes. (4: 353-357, 418-421, 425-438)

They are targeting our people because they cannot fill in papers. And they are suffering. They are hard working people, they put in long hours. Other guy doesn't work long hours. They are questioning why you should be getting minimum hours, they don't pay me no hours salary ... I don't want to pay the highest money... The government have given a,

well they never have thinking the ethnic business, they are thinking the whole business but never think of how small businesses survive. They are targeting the industry. Nobody perfect at running a business. (1: 435-446, 454-457)

Banks and other institutions are seen to offer support and advice by Respondents 4, 5, 7 and 8, but are used solely for day-to-day financial dealings by Respondents 9, 10, 12, 14, 15 and 18. For Respondent 12, using bank finance is preferred to a reliance on family or community resources as a means of maintaining independence and maximising profits.

However, as expressed by Respondent 15, there is a feeling that banks and advice institutions and services are not operating at a relevant level or time scale needed by c-stores and other micro businesses:

They might be useful to somebody else but to me they were not because their way of thinking is different to the small shop. You have to be, you know. For sometimes in a small shop you have to bide your time and be careful what you spend. The first few months or the first few years sometimes. Then afterwards you can make the changes, as many as you want. Then you can afford it. But if you want to do it all in the first couple of months, then you are taking too much debt on. You know, the banks are not going to give you three years. You know they are going to give you a couple, a year or year and a half, at most the two and then they are going to pull the rug out you know. And the way it is, it has to be ... A long term... Luckily, I think, we've been very good and we've been so long in the business now we don't need them so much as what we did a few, when we started, you know ... At the moment, I do use them, fair enough, for overdrafts and things. For the financial it is but not for any other. [Have you had anything to do with the Chamber of Commerce or Small Business Gateway or anything other business support agencies?] No we haven't, no. I mean, there's very few of our, erm, our people go to such places because One, we have to drop everything for them. No it is, the red tape is so much. The time they come up with an answer, the premises or the business is gone, you know, so the premises are gone... See these businesses, same as this one. I was here one Saturday, a week later it was mine and if I went to business Commerce or banks, you know they wouldn't even have thought about it. (15: 387-400, 412-23)

In contrast, Respondent 16 is aware of the essential support of external training and advice in the Post Office aspect of his business – particularly in surviving the difficult trading situation while the local area is under redevelopment and the threat of closure to smaller, less viable Offices.



### **Impacts on business development**

As noted above (Section 4.4), external factors are perceived as the greatest barriers to business success, and internal limitations relate to the potential tension between religion or culture and good business practice, individual measure of satisfaction and achievement, and generational issues. However, there are also negative factors relating to age (2, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15), personal skill levels (1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 16, 18, 19, 20), continued motivation for c-store self-employment (4, 6, 12, 13, 15) and personal/business tension (8, 10, 12, 17, 19, 20), individual expectations (5), extent of business understanding (1, 2, 3, 5, 20), limited financial and human resources (4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 20) and the degree of family control over business decisions (18, 21).

Positive impacts focus on the availability of family contacts and fallback (3, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21), individual experience and ability (4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 19), personal input and positive motivation for continued c-store self-employment (3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11), and determination and willingness to change (6, 10, 15, 17, 18).

### **4.6 Generational issues and succession planning**

#### **Issues**

Attitudes to continued self-employment, education, succession planning and generational aspirations, influence of community and culture

#### **Rationale for inclusion**

Emerged as key issue for future of micro c-stores

Potential area for business failure/opportunity for diversification/sector exit

Assess changing motivation for self-employment

#### **Findings**

##### **Repeat c-store ownership**

All respondents were asked their attitude to repeating c-store ownership. The majority (2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20) gave positive responses, while Respondents 3, 5, 7, 12, 16 and 21 indicated an unwillingness to repeat the

experience. Respondents 1, 14 and 19 were undecided, and self-employment in alternative sectors would be the preferred choice for Respondents 4, 7, 10 and 11. Despite these claims, the aims for future generation migrants focus on wider economic options and activities, education and the resulting alternatives being a priority for Respondents 1, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 19 and 20, and business involvement in sectors other than c-stores the aim for Respondents 2, 4, 7, 10, 17, 18, and 21. Three of those interviewed (5, 12, and 16) would not like to see the next generation involved in business and the topic is not relevant to Respondent 14 at this stage in his life. The business entry decision taken by 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrant is not the preferred 1<sup>st</sup> generation option for either Respondent 3 or 15.

### **Succession plans**

Business owners with a positive attitude to personal repeated c-store ownership indicate varied plans for the future involvement of the next generation in c-store self-employment. Respondents 6, 8, and 15 have no succession plans in place – also a feature of Respondents 1, 7 and 14. As Respondent 1 comments:

The younger generation, they don't want to come in to the industry ... They go work in the officials, er, and they are like professionals ... but they have always stayed the main industry in this country ... If somewhere they have not the standard and are not the proper commitment they will not be restaurant business. (1: 332-359)

The remaining situations indicate a range of aims for the next generation: grooming family members to take over the existing business (4, 17, 18), continue in both c-stores and other business interests (2, 9, 10 and 11), exit self-employment (13), or follow decision of wider family members (20).

The on-going family involvement in c-store and wider self-employment is a source of pride for Respondent 4, who comments:

Being brought up in business, that's my advantage ... I've had the more practical side of it ... it's second nature ... you pick things up as you go along so you have a bigger picture ... to any business, yes the basic principles are there, to make money. (4: 287-298)

There is only so much I can do. If I had brothers and sisters, I mean, I have sisters but they are all career minded. They want to reach their own goals. For myself, I was brought up in the family business and I've taken

that direction and I am going to keep going the way I've started. (4: 850-855)

Everything I have done so far I've succeeded in ... I've got lots of drive. I push a lot and I do get a lot of things done. Again, one person can only do so much so I have other ideas and other plans that I want to take with the direction of the family business somewhere else and that's what my main focus on that. (4: 880-887)

The family business to me is pride now. My father's created something and I want to keep it on and if my sons or my children want to carry on ... My wife and myself will do our best to bring them up and maybe one of them will want to carry on. They will have the option ... If they don't want to carry on then fine. (4: 900-920)

Succession plans for respondents with a negative attitude to repeated c-store involvement focus on exiting self-employment (5, 12), continued wider business ownership (16) and family decisions (21). The dependence on family decisions is also a factor for Respondents 11, 18, 19 and 20.

Respondent 3 intends to allow his children to make up their own minds, although adds that his decision to enter self-employment after this approach by his parents resulted in disappointment that he chose c-store involvement – echoed by Respondents 5, 10, 12 and 13 who indicate a preference for the next generation to exit self-employment.

### **Changing priorities, influence of culture and generational aspirations**

There is an awareness of changing priorities both within and between generations of business owners and migrants.

Once seen as the preferred option, self-employment is no longer the priority for many 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants. This change is supported by members of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrant community, who perceive changing opportunities and options not available to them due to economic necessity or individual levels of basic social and language skills on arrival in the UK. Instead, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation Edinburgh South Asian community members are increasingly encouraged to pursue formal education and qualifications as far as their ability allows before making career decisions. For some this decision is still to enter self-employment, often in the family c-store

business. However, for others failing to make best advantage of the options available precipitates the business entry decision.

There is also a perception of increased integration with the mainstream community leading to changing attitudes and influence of tradition, religion and culture.

Finally, stated aspirations for future generations suggest these changes will continue to develop, with implications for the nature and structure of the ethnic minority community and the extent of c-store involvement.

Although long, the following extract from the interview transcript is included in full as it illustrates Respondent 19's developing perceptions and opinions which are, in effect, a summary of the issues discussed to varying degrees by the other 20 respondents.

As a 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrant, born and educated in England, the move to Edinburgh was precipitated by his father's c-store involvement following redundancy and the economic situation limiting alternative employment options. The business was suggested and entry assisted by relatives in the sector in Edinburgh and Respondent 19 joined his father as an alternative to pursuing education and to maximise family opportunities in self-employment, expanding to own three businesses in the city. On his father's semi-retirement from day-to-day involvement, the three c-stores were divided among family members – all of whom are included in the study: Respondent 19, his brother (Respondent 20) and brother-in-law (Respondent 21).

During the interview, Respondent 19 discussed the implications of changing attitudes to religion and culture on business practice, his perception that self-employment was preferable to his father's initial factory employment, the benefits of improved lifestyle related to business ownership, changing opportunities for female members of the ethnic minority community, and the attitude held in both previous and current generations that c-store ownership may not be the best option for younger generation members of either gender.

I mean, you know, again, the religious thing. My parents have been on the holy pilgrimage as well. I've not been myself. I mean, if you go on the holy pilgrimage, well, you know what you are, what you've done. You repent your sins, or whatever you do there and you, you're, you're reborn, you're supposed to never sin after you've been on the pilgrimage.

You're still a human being, so, you know what I mean, a lot of people are saying to my dad and that "you're, you, you, you and mum have been to hajja and you still let your sons sell this and sell that". My dad just tells them to shut up. He says "what are you going to open a business for? What are you going to do?" You can't do anything, you know. I don't believe in that at all. Don't believe in that, one, one liner. I just don't see how a person can do that.... I really believe that, you know. I mean, I shouldn't sell this, I shouldn't sell that. If you are in business you sell everything, end of story. Otherwise, don't be in business. There is no point. (19: 800-813, 835-839)

[So do you think your dad's quite happy to see all of you involved in business?] Yes, I think so. I think it's better than working in a factory. I think that's how he looks at it. He worked in a factory for twenty years, yes. Working shifts. You know, I think everybody wants to improve. My dad, I mean, my dad being the sort of person that he is, I mean, been here since the nineteen sixties, worked in a factory for I don't know how many years, twenty odd years, then, then, erm. you know, buying a business and working for yourself was an improvement for him. An improvement in lifestyle for us. Giving us a chance to have an improved lifestyle to what he had. But Asian's these days in the shops are saying "we don't want this for our children, go and get an education". And progressively, I think, more and more people, probably not my age, I'm still a bit young at thirty four, thirty five. But probably someone who's been in business say ten years previous to me and he's now in his forties, forty five. They've got children about sixteen, seventeen. They say to them "don't do this line of work. Don't become a shopkeeper because you don't get any time off, you don't get any holidays, you have to put a lot of hours in, you get a lot of grief. You're always worried about what's going to happen next with the business and stuff. You don't ever know how long it's going to last. You know, how well it's going to go. And more and more people are now going to university, getting an education. I feel shopkeepers' sons, shopkeepers' children are going to schools, going to college, getting an education, getting degrees and they are not taking up the reins. And, er, these people are improving their lifestyle again. They're getting an education. Something most shopkeepers have probably not had. If given the chance they could have had. People like me. Like my younger brother. People like a lot of people around our age, around the thirty mark, the thirty five mark, who have just sort of followed in the footsteps of your dad and saying "alright, let's get on with this" sort of thing, you know. It's a lot from not having a lot of money at all to having a shop full of sweets when you are just sixteen you know. My mum never worked. My dad had been paid off a year and a half or so before that when we were fourteen and a half, fifteen. And at that time when your dad's not working and there's not a lot of money in the house, things are, things are tight. It was a great opportunity and I thought, you know, "to be honest with you I can't see the family going on like this". That was the main reason I helped my dad. I thought "I'd better help him.

I'm going to help my dad and see how it goes". And, you know, from having not a lot and only getting a couple of sweeties a week and having a shop full of sweeties, you know, it was sort of heaven on earth. It was an opportunity not to be missed. I think life is made up of these opportunities where, at certain points, there are chances to grab and if you don't they pass you by. And I feel that was one of those times where we had a chance to do something and, thankfully, we took it and, erm, and it changed everything. Everything. You know, it improved the whole family from top to bottom, you know.

[You don't have family, but if you were to have a family would you] If I were to have family I wouldn't recommend it. Personally speaking, I wouldn't recommend it. Neither my wife or myself ever had any education. She's the oldest out of five. Her father was never in business himself. He used to work in a factory as well. But because she is the oldest, as soon as she left school she started working and, er, her younger sister was again, she's only a year younger than her. There again, same scenario, same scenario as me and my brother. Just the way it was. She went to work as well. Neither of them really got any education. But, I mean, her brother went to college for a wee while but he wasn't really that serious. But her youngest sister, she managed, she got a degree in law. Which was really good. She was the first in the family to get a degree. The first in her family, which made her mum and dad really proud. She got, she put an awful lot of work into it when she got the opportunity. Something none of the others had had. Never had the chance to get really. My wife was really pleased for her 'cos she'd had the opportunity, and she took it. Got a degree in law. Her youngest brother who's, he's just turned twenty three now, he's just got his degree in business and marketing management and he's just got his degree as well from the same university in the Midlands. In Wolverhampton, like, you know. But these chances weren't there for the other three. You know, they were realistically not there for the other three previous to that. Ten years before that they were not there because the only choice they had was to go out and earn money for the family, you know.

[So what do you see happening to your business when you no longer want to run it?] God knows. I would probably sell it. I'll continue it probably. It'll continue. You never know. I mean, I think there will always be shops around. There are a lot of shops closing.

[So you don't have any other, sort of, nieces or nephews to hand it on to, or whatever?] I have nieces and nephews but they're not really interested. My oldest niece is at college now and wants to study media and become a journalist. Erm, and I can't see any of the others doing it either, to be honest with you. I think kids are still, er, children, I think children at thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, you know, up to about eighteen or so, can see how, maybe they've been neglected because their parents have been working so much. They've sort of been left to their own devices, sort of thing. Or, erm, the other thing is they maybe haven't had very

much influence from their fathers because he always been in the shop. Mother's always been at home. You know, that sort of scenario going on and I think they can see that, you know, the kids, you know, you don't get a lot of time off and they see the downsides as well. They see it from another, from a totally different angle. Yes, you know. Erm, so these things all make a difference, you know. I think that's why the young generation are just not interested in running shops any longer. I mean, if you haven't got a really a lot going for you, if you're not, you know, academically astute or clever or something like that, er, and are looking for something to do and, er, helping, you know, a family member, or an uncle or a cousin or a brother out, it's a great opportunity to, sort of, learn a lot about how to run a shop. It gives you the confidence, you know, to get out there yourself and do it, you know. And after working with somebody for so long you pick up an awful lot of ideas. You tend to pick up your own, you start making your own assumptions about how to do things, how to this and that. But for someone who's not particularly bright, well, I wouldn't say that, you don't have to be bright. Somebody who's, er, not interested in going to university and getting an education and they do want to work, it's a great life. It's a great business to be in. Erm, especially if you are working for family, it's even better, probably, and I think it's, you can learn a lot and eventually it will lead to better things. I think you can go on from there. (19: 841-968)

In addition, Respondent 19 comments about issues facing more recent migrants to the UK, personal skills and business support – business success being perceived ultimately as linked to the individual business owner and the development and maintenance of good personal relationships with suppliers, finance providers and customers.

[Is there any, anything you think that anyone could do to help you make your business better, you know, any of the banks or business advice centres or] No. I think, in the end I think it comes down to you. Business bank managers are a friend when you are in credit and when you are doing well, and you're, you know. But basically they don't give you any ideas. They, some of them do give you ideas about, in some cases they can, sort of, advise you. But, I mean, this type of business, really you're relying on other people. You are relying on people coming through your door. You know, how to advertise. I mean, they can give you tips on advertising, marketing and how to target customers and what have you. But, I mean, apart from that, it's really up to the customer if they come through your door. I mean, its, erm, its up to you if you offer good customer service or, you know, if the customer likes you, your attitude and, you know, if you've got what they want, you know. Having a lot, to be honest with you, I mean, there's a lot of Pakistani people and Indian people here in this country who can't speak two words of English. You come in to the shop and they literally stare at you. And they don't know,

you don't know, they don't know what you're saying to them. And it's hilarious. I mean, you think to yourself "how in god's name are you working here man?" You know, I mean, there's a big difference between Pakistanis. I think, you know, people look at us and think 'they're all Pakistanis or Indians' but, I mean, there are big differences culturally between a British Pakistani or a person born and brought up in this country, like myself or my brother, and somebody like my brother-in-law, who's only been in this country nine years after he married my sister. Erm, these people are, er, alien to the culture of Western society. they don't understand, erm, you know, women's dress and stuff like that. I mean, there's a lot of that. I mean, you have to admit there is. People do not understand what is going on. And, er, you know, having pornography in the shops and, er, selling men's' magazines, you know, and having half-naked newspapers, and Page 3 girls. You know, all these things. They do not understand where it is coming from. Because this is not how things are in Asia. You don't get this. You do not get Page 3 girls and lads' magazines and these magazines. I mean, you know, it's completely different. (19: 970-1013)

[What would you say is the biggest asset you bring to the business? Customer service and being polite and pleasant, I think. That's it. So long as you're, you know, sort of, erm, pleasant and polite and you offer good customer service. You know, you don't get thrown by people being off putting or then you should be alright, I think.

[And what would you say is the biggest drawback that you present to the business?] I can be a bit lazy sometimes. Yes, I think sometimes I'm a bit lazy.

[Are there any skills you think that you lack that you'd like to improve. You know, do you think 'if only I could do that, that would help' or anything like that?] I don't think so really. I think, er, I think a better understanding or, er, you know, a better understanding of, er, financial side of things. Yes, you know, the way things work, and if you, I'm a great believer that if you're with one company, if you are with one bank another bank is not going to offer you that much of a discount. 'Cos they're all in it for money. So, I mean, er, maybe if I was a bit more careful like that, maybe more financially, er, penny pinching I call it. Yes, if I was a wee bit more astute. But I'm not like that. I feel, I think that if you are always loyal to a company, or loyal to a bank, they will always look after you, you know, and knowing that you have been trading with them for so long, type of thing. So, I think, erm you've got to be. Erm, I think loyalty counts for a lot these days. I don't think loyalty counts for a lot these days but it should do. Erm, relations, business relationships, I think these days they get swept under the carpet too easily when people start to ask for help and stuff, you know... It all ties in. you know, being polite and pleasant and having a decent relationship with people that you intend to serve and people that you rely on all helps. It all helps. (19: 1013-1050)



## **4.7 Attitude to symbol groups**

### **Issues**

Attitude to symbol group membership.

Perceived advantages and disadvantages.

### **Rationale for inclusion**

Emerged during interview phase as potential conflict between good business practice, financial costs, and individual need for control and independence

### **Findings**

#### **Membership**

For Respondents 6 and 9 symbol group membership is seen as an opportunity to improve business success. Although formerly a symbol group member, Respondent 15 now operates independently.

The majority of business owners interviewed (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, 19) are not interested in symbol group membership. Respondents 7, 12, 14, 17, 20 and 21 would consider symbol group membership in the future.

#### **Advantages and disadvantages**

Perceived advantages include: good business practice, opportunities for improved margins, marketing, image (6, 7, 9, 14, 17, 19).

External business disadvantages focus on costs (7, 13, 18, 19, 20) and restrictions on stock/suppliers being prescriptive and not so responsive to local needs (2, 11, 12, 20, 21).

For Respondent 5 the increased number and influence of symbol group stores is a threat to independent c-stores in a similar manner to larger stores and groups.

On an internal level, group membership is perceived to limit options, take away independence, and requires conformity to the brand (1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 17, 20, 21).

According to Respondent 14, despite the potential advantages of stock delivery and increased margins, he does not relish the thought of control over the business being reduced, group membership seem as:

It's too, erm, too prescriptive. Like you've got to buy a certain amount, you have to take what they tell you and they don't know what you can sell. You don't have a choice ... And you've got to go with their prices as well. You know, you could maybe buy something cheaper. At the cash and carry it might only be £4.99 not £6.00 ... They do take control for what you stock, the shop at the end of the day. (14: 226-39)

This is echoed by Respondent 15, who presents the alternative as follows:

We have thought it, many time thought about it. But it all depends. Some of those groups will tie you down. You know, you're not your own man then. You depend on them. It's good fair enough. It's good for the customer. You can do the same. [What would be the advantages of it?] The advantages would be, the symbol group is bigger and has more power, more buying power. So they can produce something cheaper for you. But the trouble is you can buy similar things and pass it on to the customer. If you are willing to do that it would be good. If you are only going to use them to, you know, deliver stock, it's not worth it. It's not worth it. [And what would be the drawbacks of it?] I don't know that there's any drawbacks out of it. But it means you are tied with them. [Then you would be working for someone else again.] You could be, but I like to be independent. I can buy whatever I want, whatever I want. I don't have to stick to their own names or whatever. (15: 592-611)

Similarly, costs and product ranges deter Respondent 18 from pursuing membership:

We thought about it. But the charges and plus, er, promote their own stock. You have to buy their goods and the mark up is not all that great either. Plus we don't sell much groceries as you can see. Just the basic things. Not much more than that. (18: 244-7)

The answer, according to Respondent 20, is to develop individual links with suppliers, take advantage of offers from a range of wholesalers, negotiate discount with delivery contractors and form informal alliances and groupings with other independent c-store owners. This strategy is particularly relevant for this respondent as he takes the decision-making role for the three businesses run by close family members (19, 20 and 21).

#### **4.8 Follow-up observational visit**

##### **Issues**

Time scale of study

##### **Rationale for inclusion**

Opportunity to see if business aims achieved, enterprise surviving, planned developments made etc

##### **Findings**

###### **Situation at Autumn 2007**

Businesses 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 are still operating as before, although Respondent 7 has now joined a symbol group. Businesses 1, 4 and 6 have expanded, 5 change ownership and 13 closed. There has been a change of business for Respondents 3 and 14 and expansion into other sectors by Respondents 4, 7, 10, 16 and 20. Respondents 2 and 9 have retired.

###### **Aims met**

Stated and implied business aims have been met in the case of Respondents 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19 and 21 remaining active in c-store ownership and 3, 5 and 10 exiting the sector. Aims have been partially achieved by Respondents 7 and 9 now being less involved in the day-to-day running of the business but still providing an element of support and Respondent 20 still in the early stages of planned family business developments. The desired outcomes have failed to materialise for Respondent 13 due to business closure forced by the ongoing regeneration of the area and Respondent 17's children still reliant on parental support.

#### **4.9 Key emerging themes**

To summarise, while unique to each business due to the centrality of the owner, there are common threads running through the experience and perceptions of those interviewed.

These common threads emerge as the involvement of family members in self-employment. This includes both close and extended family members in the UK and

traditions of independent business activity in Pakistan, in c-stores and small- and micro-enterprises from a variety of sectors.

None of the business owners included in the research sample have formal business qualifications.

Due to the size and location of the Edinburgh Pakistani community, all business activity undertaken by the respondents (c-store and other ventures) serve the mainstream community.

The nature of the Edinburgh demographics results in the increasing social and economic embeddedness with the length of residence of 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants, reputation of 1<sup>st</sup> generation business approaches and changing sojourner mentality of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation Edinburgh Pakistani community members.

While there are perceived and actual external threats to small- and micro- businesses, a personal need and desire for independence is a strong motivation for self-employment, although this does not necessarily imply continued c-store involvement for subsequent generations.

In addition, there is a range of factors that have divergent impacts on continued c-store involvement. There is a wide variety of business aims reported. These range from developing family business activities and encouraging the next generations to build on this growing business empire, maintaining a constant level of economic activity to continue to meet personal motivating factors and work/lifestyle balance, or exiting the c-store sector and, at the extreme, discouraging future generation involvement in self-employment.

Individual motivation for c-store start-up and continued involvement focuses on the need for personal and family security, independence from authority, recognition of economic and social achievement and status, reconciliation of business practice with work ethic, religious beliefs and desired life-style, and the drive for financial success. There is a diversity in the extent of reliance on ethnic minority resources for identifying business opportunities and assisting business entry, the degree of dependence on community and family financial resources, and the use of family members in day-to-day business operations.

Ethnic culture and traditions are seen as restricting, demanding a personal balancing act, or are simply ignored when identifying and implementing good business practice.

Finally, there is a disparate range of aspirations for the personal and business future of subsequent Edinburgh Pakistani community members and business activity.

The issues presented above and the key emerging themes – common and divergent - are evident to varying degrees among all the c-store owners interviewed in the theoretical sample. In accordance with the aims of this research and the adaptive grounded theory methodology and methods adopted, an increased understanding of internal factors and barriers influencing business practice among Edinburgh Pakistani community-owned convenience stores will be enhanced by comparison to the features of small and micro business theory and ethnic minority research in other sectors, locations and communities gained from the initial literature review (Chapter 3) – this discussion being developed in Chapter 5: Emerging themes.



## **Chapter 5: EMERGING THEMES**

### **5.1 Trading environment**

External factors

Market conditions

Access to ownership

### **5.2 Trading approach**

Common threads: predisposing factors and resource mobilisation

Divergent themes: motivation, family, community and culture

### **5.3 Summary and initial conceptual model**





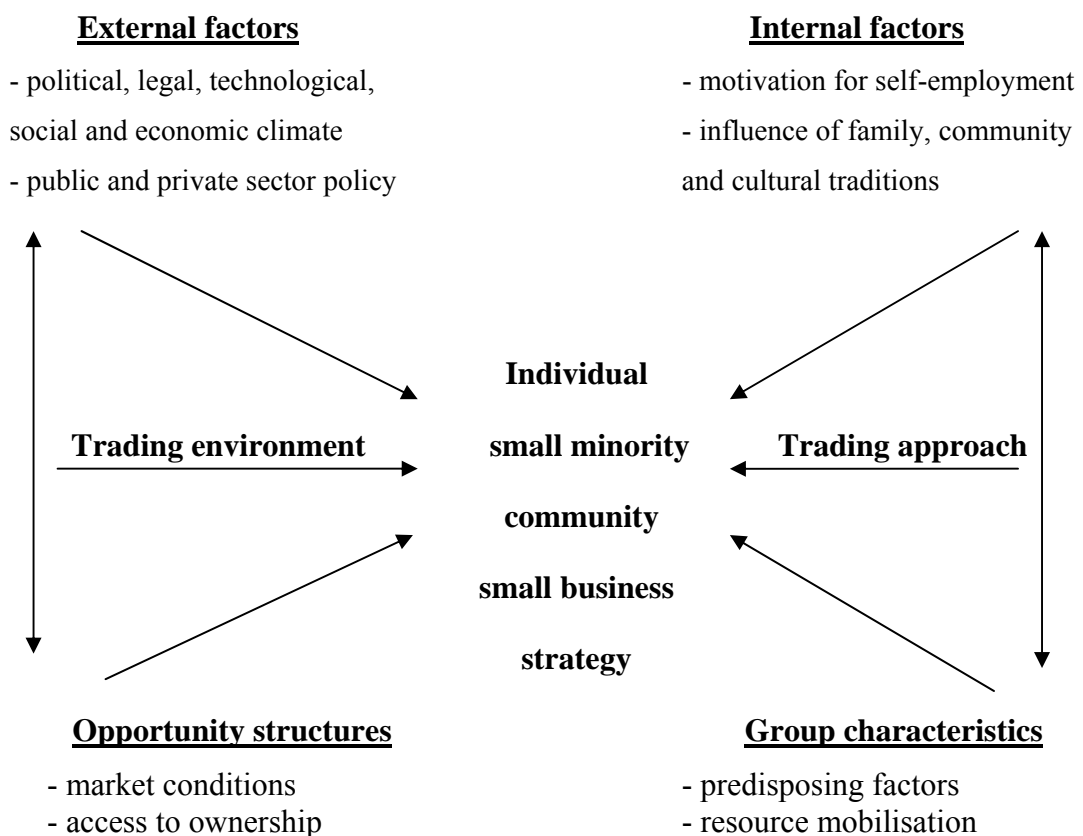
From the literature discussed in Chapter 3, it is evident that in every service sector the extent of survival and success of a particular enterprise is dependent on the ability of the organisation to adapt to changes in the business environment: micro- and convenience-store retailing being classic examples. The generic pressures experienced are linked to political, economic, socio-demographic and technological (PEST) change, the relevance of each factor varying for individual enterprises. While outwith the control of individual business owners, these external factors shape short-term trading approach and strategies for facing competition, identifying target markets and raising finance. In addition, longer-term strategies are needed to determine the nature and extent of continued sector involvement, opportunities to diversify, and plans for future ownership of the enterprise.

In the convenience store sector at the focus of this study, these external factors predominantly take the form changing consumer behaviour, increased competition from larger stores and groups, changing demographics and social structures, local and national traffic and redevelopment policies, and financial constraints. While little can be done by individual c-store owners to address these wider issues, strategies emerge from the fieldwork findings presented in Chapter 4 that have a business focus of exiting the sector, diversifying, or making best competitive advantage of the perceived benefits of group membership. In addition, the centrality of the owner in micro enterprise activity is reflected in the role of strategies of customer service, community involvement and continuity of ownership as providing and enhancing opportunities for business success.

It is this range of issues that bridges external business environment factors and the internal factors relating to the individual's motivation and experience, and the manner and extent of family, culture, community and tradition influencing c-store entry, continuing involvement and strategies for the future. These characteristics of business approaches and attitudes to future low level retail and service sector self-employment are identified as features of UK ethnic minority communities. As such issues are the focus of this study, and in order to more fully understand the extent of impact on business and identify changing importance of factors in the ethnic business community at the centre of the study, this chapter compares the Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store owners' experience with evidence from other sectors, locations

and ethnic communities, summarised under four headings: external and internal factors, group characteristics and opportunity structures.

In order to provide continuity and structure to the research process, the following discussion and identification of the key emerging themes is based on the theoretical model developed in Figure 3.3: Factors influencing small minority community small business strategies. The two themes affecting all businesses – wider PEST factors and the more localised and ethnic community opportunity structures – combine to create the individual c-store trading environment. These issues are closely linked and discussed in tandem in order to establish a base upon which to develop the understanding of the internal factors at the focus of the study that shape individual trading approaches adopted within the Edinburgh Pakistani community – predisposing factors, resource mobilisation, motivation, and the influence of family, community and cultural traditions.



**Figure 3.3: Factors influencing small minority community small business strategies**

The following discussion is presented in two sections: 5.1 Trading environment and 5.2 Trading approach, each section including the related individual topics. In order to establish a basis for discussion of the research findings the theoretical base for inclusion in the interview schedule for the empirical data collection phase of the study is summarised for each section and topic. As analysis of the research findings indicates differences in attitude and experience of 1<sup>st</sup> and subsequent migrant generations and business owners, where appropriate this is reflected in the structure of the following sections. To support the arguments made, quotes from the interview transcripts are included where appropriate to add depth to the issues identified in the previous chapter – referenced following the same protocol.

In Section 5.3, the key themes emerging from the discussions are identified, summarised and combined in an initial conceptual model of the internal factors influencing c-store development among members of the Edinburgh Pakistani community. This model provides the basis for the second stage literature review demanded by the adaptive grounded theory methodology adopted for the study, and presented in Chapter 6.

### **5.1 Trading environment**

Although unique to each enterprise, the particular trading environment is shaped by the constantly changing external macro and micro political, social and economic climate, local market conditions, and opportunities to access c-store ownership; discussion of these topics grouped as external factors, market conditions and access to ownership.

#### **External factors**

To summarise the issues emerging from the literature review presented in Chapter 3, business theory identifies external influences on the survival and degree of success of an enterprise to be a combination political, economic, socio-demographic and technological factors. While a stronger feature of large businesses, national and international political changes and policies have a limited immediate effect on micro-enterprises. However, local planning and development policies do impact on both day-to-day and longer-term formal and informal business strategies of small local

shop owners. Due to the nature of the c-store sector, technological change has a limited impact on the business environment due to the personal hands-on nature of the enterprises concerned. Changes in national, international and local economies greatly affect the c-store trading environment from both business investment and cash flow, and consumer spending points of view – this also being linked to changing local demographics and societal developments.

While constantly evolving, the external factors are the same for all businesses in any given location. However, the response to perceived threats and opportunities implied by these changes varies from individual to individual, and as a consequence impact on trading approaches taken.

For Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store owners included in the research sample the only political concern noted was the potential for racial tension of the terrorist attacks on America on September 11, 2001. However, this did not materialise in Edinburgh and the topic of national or local political regime, policies, change or behaviour did not emerge as a significant theme of factor in the conversations with business owners.

More relevant to convenience store owners from the Edinburgh Pakistani community are local political issues and policies. The prime concerns for owners interviewed with premises on main streets revolve around traffic control issues – increased parking regulations, and the introduction of Greenways and bus lanes restricting regular customer access at peak times and reducing opportunities for passing trade. However, when pressed, little evidence emerged to support these perceptions although difficulties are encountered with deliveries.

In addition, there is a real threat to the trading environment for c-stores in areas due for redevelopment, although this is not always negative for the longer term survival of the business. This is illustrated in the example of Respondent 9. The current business developed and evolved with the local area over thirty years. Particular problems arose during redevelopment of the council-owned housing stock when residents were decanted to other areas. Also downturns occurred when nearby supermarkets and shopping centre opened and were later redeveloped. The owner describes the business as "sometimes great, sometimes down" (9: 53-4) despite being

in an area of high unemployment and customers income largely reliant on state benefits. Over the years, business growth has been affected by changing consumer trends, for example changing family meal habits and teenagers changing attitudes to cooking over the years have led to the need to carry different stock, for example: "I sell more pot noodle than anything else now" (9: 76-7). In contrast, for Respondents 13 and 16 area redevelopment has resulted in closure of their businesses – Respondent 13 to retire and Respondent 16 to anticipate better opportunities to re-open in new premises with a new customer base once the redevelopment is complete and the area attracting residents less reliant on state benefits.

While economic issues are constantly of both personal and business concern, at the time of both the main fieldwork phase of the research and the follow-up observational visits the macro economic situation was relatively stable and many areas of the city were benefiting from expanding employment opportunities, rising house prices, social mobility, high levels of disposable income, and good access to services. For the c-store owners interviewed, economic concerns focused on personal access to finance, day-to-day accounting and banking services.

In addition, technological change has a limited impact, only becomes an issue when planning diversification into a wider range of additional products and services relying on on-line communication and accounting such as EPOS, Pay Point and the Lottery. Concerns about the introduction of such technology do not focus on the ability to learn new skills and see the potential benefits of the systems, the principle barrier is one of cost. Indeed, this is the reason for Respondents 7, 13, 14, 18 and 19 not pursuing symbol group membership despite being aware of the advantages of marketing, margins and product ranges related to such trading approaches.

### **Market conditions**

The biggest perceived threats to the c-store trading environment relate to changing market conditions, consumer behaviour issues and the implications of demographic changes. Once the mainstay of local community grocery purchasing, c-stores are now increasingly relied on solely for top-up shopping, daily small purchases and emergency needs. As Respondent 11 puts it:

The people, I mean, the people buy the day to day, they buy their bread and butter, milk and that down here. Of course, everybody is going to the big stores but they see the small shop for their small things. If they run out of something if they have any child they can say just go along and buy this, that. But in the community they still need it. (11: 263-268)

Reasons for this are the increased competition from supermarkets and chains, and the changing focus from traditional high-street style collections of small shops to larger retail complexes, both local, city centre and out-of-town. In addition customer profiles are affected by local residents having changes in lifestyles, altered work patterns, less stay-at-home mothers and increased access to the internet and on-line shopping – this being particularly relevant for Respondents 2, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19 and 20 with c-stores located in sectors of the city benefiting from the economic climate outlined above. The resulting changes to business are noted by Respondents 13 and 6:

Before here it was family people here mostly, with the children. But now it is one bedroom flats. Now people as soon as they are expecting a baby they just move out of here... Hardly any young children. Hardly any. Because when John Menzies send like the stickers and that, I have to ask them stop it. Because they have to be returned, you know. I think there are only one or two children in this whole area. It is so different because before it was all families, you know. So we used to sell more rolls, the everything, you know. That was the value of youngsters. [So you've had to adapt the stock you carry accordingly. Do you still have a core of regular customers that you] Of course, yes, I have known them for years. A few of them have left but still they are there. Of course we see new people every year. People move very quickly, I don't know. (13: 79-97)

[Do you think there's a threat from internet shopping or] It is. Of course there is. That's the way things are going like, you know. What they're doing actually is, quite a few of them, they're going up to Marks and Spencers, they are all pretty well off here you know, they go there. I think they charge £5 for a delivery service. They buy all their messages. Why would they want to come here when they can come home empty handed and all the stuff is delivered. (6: 225-233)

However, not all areas in Edinburgh experience economic advantages, and these socio-demographic factors may also create opportunities for micro-retail businesses to thrive as in many areas there is still a need for the local c-store for elderly community residents and in areas of urban deprivation where there are limited

alternative retail options available. This is also potentially an issue in areas with large populations of students, unemployed or low income families where a combination of financial restraints and social issues increases the need to make smaller, more frequent purchases – the situation for Respondents 4, 7, 9, 13, 16 and 21.

These external factors, and the resulting market conditions, are constantly changing and thus offering varied opportunities for small independent c-store success. However, while there are local variations in focus, the market conditions are broadly the same for all enterprises in the sector throughout the city. The key to meeting the individual external trading conditions and challenges presented is to identify and understand the implications of specific local and national changes and develop strategies to turn the potential threats to survival into opportunities for future success: the principle approach adopted among members of the Edinburgh Pakistani community included in the research sample being to use local knowledge and reputation, provide convenience in opening hours and product range, and compete on standards of service.

### **Access to ownership**

A principal change in the trading environment over time is the external factors influencing access to c-store ownership.

For 1<sup>st</sup> generation business owners included in the study (Respondents 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16 and 21), opportunities to access to the Edinburgh c-store sector primarily came through mainstream business owners exiting the sector (1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 15).

For Respondent 21, a recent migrant to Scotland, business ownership is linked to succeeding to one part of his wife's family c-store business activities in the city.

Local government policy to include retail outlets in new housing developments provided initial and ongoing access to c-store ownership for Respondent 9, located in a UPA housing estate on the west of the city. Similar public sector policies also hold the key to future business aims of Respondent 16, who continues to be involved in a range of business activities while his retail business has closed due to demolition and ongoing regeneration of the area but is assured of new premises in the cluster of

retail and service sector units included as an essential aspect of the ongoing development of a mix of social, affordable and private housing stock suitable for families, couples and singles of all ages.

The local council policies in the early 1980s, combined with the attitude of suppliers and financial institutions to support new, micro businesses, also encouraged second generation business owner Respondent 8's initial move to Edinburgh as:

There was at that time, if you saw a lock-up somewhere or a shop, right, especially if you leased it from the council all you had to, you had to put an offer in by a closing date set by the council, you know . And say the rent you know 'I'll give you fifty quid, I'll give you hundred quid a month'. It was just a rent just then and my brother put an offer in and that was all the money that was required. Just the monthly rent in advance and a deposit. [Which was good, not like having to buy a premises or anything.] It was good. And the stock, like, you know to fit out the stock. The chap who introduced my brother to Edinburgh and talked him in to buying the shop he had community links with the cash and carry in Edinburgh anyway, like. And he managed to get £500 £600 of stock and pay it up as he sold it. Which was not very hard for him. (8: 1210-137)

However, he also stresses that the financial support is no longer the same:

It's not like that nowadays [it's not so easy now, it's changed days isn't it?] The banks, they used to welcome you. They used to lay a red carpet for you. Make you a cup of tea or a coffee. See nowadays, as soon as you put your foot in to the bank, your charges begin. (8: 138-141)

For the remaining 2<sup>nd</sup> generation business owners (3, 4, 6, 7, 14, 17, 18, 19 and 20), the influence and opportunities provided by public sector support no longer exist, and access to ownership results from involvement in the existing family business premises in conjunction with wider business interests (4), taking over former mainstream owned enterprises as stand-alone business ventures (3, 6, 7, 14, 17) or expanding family activity by taking over former mainstream-owned shops (18, 19 and 20).

Although each situation is unique and the changing external business environment and influences have a crucial effect on business potential and success, there is little generational difference in the awareness, attitude and response to these external factors. What emerges as more relevant and important are the factors shaping



individual responses to these changes and attitudes to business entry, continued self-employment in the c-store sector and future developments of the enterprise – internal factors which create the trading approach, the identification and understanding the relevance and interaction of which is the principle aim of this study.

## **5.2 Trading approach**

According to the published small and micro business research reviewed in Chapter 3, decisions to enter and continue in self-employment, and the development and nature of plans and strategies for the particular enterprise are influenced by two principle factors: individual motivation; and the influence of family and community role models and cultural traditions. Motivational factors focus on two elements: the choices, options, expectations and pressures associated with the business entry and continuation decision; and personal goals and values relating to a desire for independence, the need for achievement, and personal priorities. The influence of family, community and traditions has the potential to create tension between family expectations, traditional roles and responsibilities, and individual ambition.

Added to these generic small and micro business factors are features of ethnic business development identified in large minority communities in the UK. These are summarised as group characteristics, and fall into two broad categories: predisposing factors of limited alternative economic activity, selective migration and aspiration levels; and opportunities provided by utilising close co-ethnic ties and community social networks, with the related access to both financial and human resources and markets for ethnic goods.

From research findings presented in previous chapter relating to these factors, there are a range of issues shaping and affecting the trading approaches raised during the data collection process that are common to varying degrees to all business included in the research sample. While many of the Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store owners interviewed perceived threats to continued c-store survival, growth and individual, independent self-employment are external factors, internal issues, on which the aims of this study are focused, cover a range of both common and divergent threads and themes listed in Figure 5.1.

This section presents discussion of these sets of factors under these two headings: common threads focusing on predisposing factors and resource mobilisation; and divergent themes centring on the motivation for self-employment, family influences, ethnic and mainstream community integration, and the impact of culture and religion on business strategy.

<b>Common threads</b>	<b>Divergent themes</b>
Family (close, extended, UK, Pakistan) involvement in micro/SME/c-store	Business aims – empire, constant, exit
No formal business qualifications and need for independence	Ethnic strategy – opportunities/business entry, resources (human and financial)
Serve mainstream community	Individual motivation for start-up and continued involvement
Increasing social and economic embeddedness	Influence of culture and tradition – restricting, balancing act, ignored
Perceived/actual external business threats	Aspirations – 1 <sup>st</sup> gen, 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen, future

**Figure 5.1: Factors in Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store involvement**

#### **Common threads: predisposing factors and resource mobilisation**

The common threads in trading approaches emerging among Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store owners are closely linked to the issues and topics identified in larger ethnic minority business communities throughout the UK. As identified in Chapter 3, the decision to enter and remain in self-employment is shaped by group characteristics of predisposing factors (blocked mobility, selective migration and aspiration levels) and resource mobilisation (close co-ethnic ties, ethnic social networks and government policies discussed in the previous section). While these factors are evident among c-store owners in the Edinburgh Pakistani community, differences emerge of their extent and influence on continued involvement in the sector with subsequent generations of migrants and business ownership – this divergence shaping the following discussion.

In the context of the research sample of 21 Edinburgh Pakistani community convenience store owners, for respondents from all generations of migrant and business owner generations the common predisposing factors experienced in other larger UK minority community business activity of real or perceived racism and the resulting blocked mobility and opportunities are not evident. Rather, the predisposing factors prompting the move and continuation in micro-retail self-employment focus on evidence of selective migration, this being linked to the initial reasons for migration to the UK, factors motivating 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants to enter self-employment, and the developing aspirations for family and individual future economic activity and social status shaping strategy development in both 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generations of the Edinburgh Pakistani c-store owning community..

While expressed in individual terms, the experience of 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants among those included in the research sample (Respondents 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 16) the decision to migrate to Britain was seen as presenting opportunities for personal and family economic advancement. Typically, initial employment was in the lower level manufacturing or service sectors due to a lack of formal qualifications and limited language skills. Both close and extended family links shaped settlement patterns and established co-ethnic social networks in larger minority communities as spouses, children and other wider family members joined the migrants in the UK. It should be noted that, although also a 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrant, the situation for Respondent 21 varies slightly as his entry to the UK is to join his wife and her family already established as 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants now living and owning businesses in Edinburgh.

Changes in the economic situation and the resulting downturn in British manufacturing led to high levels of unemployment in these areas, this being a trigger for the decision to enter self-employment in many cases, the convenience store being selected due to ease of access, low start-up costs and opportunities as mainstream owners exit the sector. The move to Edinburgh followed examples of successful business experiences of community and family members and offered increased opportunities for personal and family advancement. For 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants (3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 17, 18, 19 and 20) these selective migration issues are less relevant, the

predisposing factors being linked to satisfying motivations, meeting needs, and achieving aspirations – these factors varying for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants on an individual basis and discussed below.

This move away from larger ethnic minority communities impacts on the extent of reliance on co-ethnic local ties and resources, and the related trading approaches adopted. As identified in the literature presented in Chapter 3, in large minority communities micro-businesses strategies fall into three categories: provide ethnic goods and services for co-ethnic customers; adopt a middleman-minority position providing ethnic goods to mainstream customers; or breaking out from ethnic markets to compete in mainstream business environments. There is also evidence of a strong reliance on community and family finance and human resources.

In contrast, the limited size and scattered location of the Pakistani community in Edinburgh restricts trading approaches to that of competing in the mainstream markets, with a limited middleman position providing ethnic food products in addition to the more traditional c-store ranges in the City, and the opportunity to diversify into a wide range of sectors more commonly associated with mainstream community business owners.

While in many instances family resources were used on initial business entry, there is a general lessening reliance on these sources of finance on business development, although family members continued to be utilised – the reasons for these changes and variations being discussed under the heading of divergent themes below.

For all those interviewed, threats to future opportunities and success are perceived to focus on business issues and changing external factors. However, tensions arise over the role of female family members, product ranges, the direction of business development, and continued c-store involvement of 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrants more closely integrated with the mainstream community.

These issues are illustrated in the experience of Respondent 17, who comments on the important role of family and community contacts when he and his brothers embarked on personal business ventures in Leeds after migration from Pakistan and involvement in an uncle's micro-retail business for a number of years. When making the move to Edinburgh, business entry the limited size of the Pakistani community

implied a need to develop links with the mainstream community; the initial business being purchased from the retiring mainstream community owner and a strategy of good service and few changes to the premises and stock ranges enhanced relationships with the local community and retained customer loyalty. Minority community links are strong in the city, but there is a limited extent of interference with business issues than experienced in the much larger community in Leeds. In partnership with his brothers, Respondent 17 no longer relies solely on the c-store business, but has expanded into fruit and vegetable wholesale and delivery services to both co-ethnic and mainstream customers in micro-retail outlets and hospitality enterprises. In contrast to the family in England, female family members are involved in the business activities and a much greater importance is attached to education as a basis for the next generation to take advantage of the opportunities open to both girls and boys as part of a well integrated community: Respondent 17's aim to be perceived as a small shop owner rather than a Pakistani small shop owner. The increased integration of the micro-minority community with the mainstream Edinburgh population is a source of satisfaction for Respondent 2, commenting:

That gives me satisfaction and happiness when people take things and when the law get changed and they announce we are now becoming mainstream ... and what would happen in the future for our generations. There will be no ethnic minorities. They will be just the people. And I think it is a good thing to be. (2:784-791)

These common threads of predisposing factors and resource mobilisation revolve around community and family factors rather than individual, internal factors at the focus of this study. While common themes are evident in all businesses included in the study, although largely similar in nature responses to the challenges presented when developing particular trading approaches are diverse and change in detail due to the individual nature of the issues under focus. The reasons for these changing and varied business strategies and approaches are linked to individual motivating factors and expanded in the following section of this chapter.

### **Divergent themes: motivation, family, community and culture**

The divergent themes emerging from analysis of the empirical data collected during the fieldwork phase of the research presented in Chapter 4 are discussed under the

following topics: business aims, individual motivation for self-employment, use of family and ethnic community resources, the influence of culture and tradition, and changing aspirations for and within generations of the migrant community.

As noted in small and micro business theory summarised in Chapter 3, the centrality of the owner-manager is at the root of the nature, development and potential success of a particular enterprise. Key to understanding internal threats to c-store ownership is an awareness of the influence of individual values on trading approaches and evolving business strategies. Although no two such strategies are identical, respondents interviewed fall within three extremes of business strategies ranging from exiting self-employment, remaining in and extending family focus in the c-store sector, and expansion into a wide variety of micro-business activities (see Table 5.1: Extremes of business strategies emerging in Edinburgh Pakistani owned c-stores). However, it should be noted that not all business owners were aware of specific strategies, the interview providing an opportunity to reflect on strategies adopted to address changes in the external trading environment and the nature of influences affecting trading approaches; these focusing on internal factors of motivation and the role of culture and tradition, this raising implications for future aspirations.

Business aims are established on an individual basis and are linked to the owners' motivation for the business entry decision, and definitions of success and achievement; these aims then shaping both short and longer term business strategies. According to the literature reviewed in Chapter 3, the motivation to work in a particular context can be viewed as a combination of three groups of factors: psychological, experiential and personal – the principal components of each being summarised in Figure 5.2.

The individual psychological aspects of motivation to work focus on a continuum of needs ranging from meeting basic existence levels, issues of personal growth and advancement, and the achievement of personal goals. The decision to enter and remain in self-employment is seen as being dependent on the individual business owner's perception of an ability to meet basic needs, the definition, availability and achievability of desired rewards, and the potential risks inherent in the sector.

	<b>Case 1: Exit micro business ownership</b>	<b>Case 2: Extended family c-store business</b>	<b>Case 3: Build family business empire</b>
<b>Business entry decision</b>	Came to Edinburgh aged 14 to join father Left school age 16 and wanted to continue education and career in electronics Given shop as 'gift' by father and, as eldest son, had no option but to forgo education and enter c-store ownership	Migrated to Scotland age 16 to join uncle in Glasgow Worked with uncle and cousins in similar businesses before buying own premises Owned 3 stores at one time but sold 2 to concentrate on running 1 efficiently, not 3 badly	Involved in family business activity since age 11 C-store funded move into property rental business Local school and community involvement Opened own c-store on leaving school Sold business after 5 years and took over current premises from father
<b>Competitive approach</b>	Aware of increased local and wider competition Strategy of not competing on product range or price Offers basic products in modernised store and efficient service, including delivery of very small, low value orders to local pensioners Customer loyalty developed over 25 years	Business developed over 25 years from poor start Symbol group membership to improve price, promotional material and product range available Agent for cleaning, lottery, video hire, PayPoint, cash dispenser and short term credit facilities Good local community links maximise sales	Diversified away from c-store sector Business interests in construction, food importing and distribution, publishing, property rental, motor trade, finance and tanning studio Enterprises operated alone, with family members, co-ethnic partners and other associates
<b>Succession plans</b>	No business development as business aim to exit sector as soon as cultural and traditional obligations allow Determined that children do not enter c-store business but successfully encouraged to seek recognised qualifications and mainstream employment	Both sons educated to degree level Elder now increasingly involved in day-to-day running of business Gradual hand over of responsibility to allow father to retire Possibility of opening additional premises if younger son decides to join family business	Plans to close current business when lease expires but open c-store in perceived better location Younger son, age 10, already showing interest in business involvement Intention to continue to develop portfolio of business activities and build on family business empire started by father

**Table 5.1: Extremes of business strategies emerging in Edinburgh Pakistani community owned c-stores**

<b>Motivational aspect</b>	<b>Factors</b>	<b>Issues</b>
Psychological	Needs, goal, success, achievement, locus of control, independence	Business and personal aims, need for control and independence, measures of success
Experiential	Push and pull factors	Limited alternatives, family and personal expectations. Opportunities, role models, community networks.
Personal	Individual values, family and culture traditions	Measures of satisfaction, influence of family and community role models, impact of personal beliefs and values, aspirations

**Figure 5.2: Components of individual motivation for self-employment.**

In the theoretical sample included in the study, for 1<sup>st</sup> generation business owners (Respondents 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16 and 21) the decision to enter convenience store ownership was perceived to provide sufficient financial security and opportunities to meet basic existence needs. As Respondent 5 notes: “anyone who emigrates wants to improve their standard of life and economics ... make their life better for their families” (5: 180).

This was still the case for those then migrating to Edinburgh to continue or expand c-store activity, and in the experience of Respondents 10 and 15 the decision and experience provided opportunities to improve family financial security. However, once the business is established, c-store self-employment is also seen as being the means of meeting more advanced needs including personal and family growth and advancement, independence and control, and the achievement of personal aims and ambitions.

For 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrant c-store owners interviewed (Respondents 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 17, 18, 19 and 20) the importance of meeting basic needs through c-store ownership is diminished, although the factor shaping economic activity decisions for Respondent 6 revolved around the need to provide for his mother and brother on his father’s early death. For the remaining 2<sup>nd</sup> generation respondents, c-store ownership is perceived to offer opportunities to gain or maintain independence, establish a basis for integration with the mainstream community, provide the means to balance



personal and family security with the achievement of personal aims, and open a wider range of future options for the individual and subsequent generations in alternative career sectors.

As Respondent 8 reflects, there is a strong impact of changing personal motivation on business approaches adopted as he has gone from being Asian Trader of the Year to his current situation:

I was only in my twenties then, in my late teens actually when my brother and I started the shop. And work was not a problem. I could go on twenty-four hours, seven days a week, you know. But now I can barely manage seven, eight hours in here. You become lazy. I have become lazy or I just can't do it any more. I haven't found out which is, which it is at the present moment. I find it a real effort to stay more than five or six hours in the shop. (8: 528-56)

Yes I am happy. I am quite content, you know. My mortgage is paid at the end of the month. My wife has a lovely car to take the kids to school. I, er, I would say my liabilities are being met at the end of every month so ... (8: 659-662)

Oh aye, I definitely had the determination, the initiative and the drive to achieve that, you know, and I was heading in the right direction and I've could have done it, I could have done it. [Are you disappointed now you've got this and your wife and family?] Oh no, no, honestly I'm just as happy. Er, I'm more happy, er, from my family point of view, you know. I couldn't do without my family now. I love my wife, you know. (8: 871-80)

Apart from meeting basic needs, the strongest common feature for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants and business owners emerging from the fieldwork data is a need for independence. Also, there is a stated or implied high level of locus of control in the range of needs priorities within the research sample. These priorities include elements of facing challenges (2, 6, 8), the satisfaction of making a success after working for others (3, 20), maximising financial opportunities (4, 9, 12, 17), maintaining desired work and life balance (5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20) and the opportunity to set personal standards, goals and business strategies (4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 18).

On a potentially negative note, this need for control and independence can be the cause of tension and conflict between good business practice and personal strategies

for business continuation and development. This is illustrated in the example of attitudes to symbol group membership.

Theoretically, group membership enhances good business practice of maximising marketing opportunities, accessing wide product ranges, reducing overheads and improving profit margins – this being a largely positive experience for Respondents 6 and 9, although both respondents comment on the potential of membership to restrict the ability to respond to local needs and preferences and the best business option being to add individual ideas to the core group trading approaches.

However, for Respondents 12, 15, 17 and 20, the need to conform to group policies and practice, comply with procedures and invest in set standards of technology, shop fitting and stock ranges and levels is perceived as too high an investment both financially and personally, preferring to retain independence and options to diversify products and services offered to meet localised demands – these issues summarised by Respondent 15:

We have thought it, many time thought about it. But it all depends. Some of those groups will tie you down. You know, you're not your own man then. You depend on them. It's good fair enough. It's good for the customer. You can do the same. [What would be the advantages of it?] The advantages would be, the symbol group is bigger and has more power, more buying power. So they can produce something cheaper for you. But the trouble is you can buy similar things and pass it on to the customer. If you are willing to do that it would be good. If you are only going to use them to, you know, deliver stock, it's not worth it. It's not worth it. [And what would be the drawbacks of it?] I don't know that there's any drawbacks out of it. But it means you are tied with them. [Then you would be working for someone else again.] You could be, but I like to be independent. I can buy whatever I want, whatever I want. I don't have to stick to their own names or whatever. (15: 592-611)

As can be seen from the above discussion, self-employment offers individual business owners the means by which to achieve personal and family needs, aims and goals. However, the extent to which this is possible is dependent on the individual concept of what constitutes adequate rewards, definition of success, perception of the potential in any given situation or set of barriers to success to achieve these desired outcomes, and strategies to minimise risk of failure.

The individual nature of these individual psychological factors is shaped by the economic and social context on business entry. Experiential push and pull factors are

theoretically identified as focusing on the external issues of alternative opportunities available discussed above, and internal factors relating to family and personal expectations, role models and the extent, influence and use made of minority community networks.

However, the internal focus on family and personal expectations, the nature of personal and business networks, and the influence of family and community role models is not static. Issues relevant on business start-up change with experience, external trading environments, personal and business maturity, and individual measures of satisfaction and work life balance.

Individual expectations of the opportunities and benefits offered by c-store ownership appear to vary with generation of migrant and business ownership. While offering a means of establishing and developing economic security and meeting personal needs for independence for 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants, the extent of assimilation into the Edinburgh mainstream community creates wider expectations for subsequent generations. The emerging themes represented by the following examples focus on factors ranging from confusion between real and perceived attitudes to c-store ownership, the role of education and increasing alternative economic opportunities, and tension between personal goals and good business practice.

For Respondent 3, ownership of the current business follows a range of employment experiences and attempts to establish successful enterprises in other parts of the UK. However, as the extracts from the interview transcript below suggest, despite family support and c-store ownership in Edinburgh proving successful, he is aware of failing to meet parental aspirations:

We had been considering a few years before that to, to try and do something else but it's very difficult to break from something that might be demanding, you know, and very hard working but at least it's something you can rely on for your bread and butter. (3: 55-59)

They were all rooting for me. I had a reasonable amount of family support. (3: 168-169)

My parents, my father in particular, my parents always had aspirations for us all to actually not, not be left in the shop and were actually quite disappointed while we were doing that. (3: 265-268)

A similar miss-conception of generational aims and aspirations is illustrated by the experiences of Respondents 14 and 15, selected to meet the requirements of the theoretical sample and both interview arrangements in place before being identified as being related.

The interview with Respondent 14 identified the c-store entry decision to be a response to an expectation to follow in the family tradition of micro-retailing rather than developing a business from his qualifications as a motor mechanic. Once made, the decision received parental support and resources "because mum and dad have got a shop as well and said 'we'll get you a shop as well, get you on your own feet as well', so that's why they got me this one" (14: 14-20). When asked about 1<sup>st</sup> generation's business activity, it emerged that this was Respondent 15, who was unaware of his son's inclusion in the research.

During this second interview, the subject of aspirations for future generations was raised. The importance of the lessons learned from family experience of c-store ownership for his son's subsequent entry to the sector are acknowledged, as "he was born in business. He's been in business all the time and he's learned bit by bit you know" (15: 302-3). However, this decision is also regretted due to a personal preference for both children to follow an alternative career path:

I would have preferred him to do something else ... I think its, like I said, it's longer hours, no social life. You know, for that reason I wanted him out of it but I think he wants to go and do it. You know, we asked him before we got him it 'if you are wanting to do it, fair enough'. And plus something is the responsibility. He's got, that's his own. You know, he can do whatever, the way he wants to do it. So lets see what happens from there. [Yes, so then it's up to him. But you would really have preferred him to have gone off and] Yes I would have. Like I said, my daughter's already got, you know nine to five. I would have preferred him to go out of the shops. [Do you think that would have been a better life for them?] I don't know. I cannae say that. (15: 620-35)

The value of education and skills training is also illustrated by the examples of the attitudes of Respondents 9 and 11. In both cases, education is perceived as providing better opportunities than were available to 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants. However, differences emerge when making decisions regarding 2<sup>nd</sup> generation c-store involvement.

In the case of Respondent 9, the failure to complete his university course, in contrast to his younger brother, left no option but to join his father in the family convenience store. Despite initial reluctance, this is proving to be a successful business move, as the son is active in developing the range of products and services offered in a successful strategy to maintain customer loyalty, increase turnover and allow the older generation family members to move towards retirement from day-to-day operational involvement.

In contrast, all four children of Respondent 11 have continued formal education to university level. Both daughters are married and involved in careers outwith c-store ownership. The intention was for both sons to also develop careers, but their father's ill health forced decisions about the continuation of the thriving c-store business to be made. Following lengthy discussions, both sons chose to be involved with the family business and future aims are to expand into additional c-stores and wider sectors, thus repeating the 1<sup>st</sup> generation business strategy.

The expectations of the benefits of c-store ownership are also shaped by individual variation in definitions of success and measures of satisfaction. Factors influencing these definitions include financial achievements, lifestyle issues, perception of personal fulfilment, achievement of business and personal aims, and satisfying family and community expectations.

Despite the perceptions of the differing extent of theoretical ethnic minority business factors in larger UK minority communities discussed above, there is still a strong influence of both family and community traditions in approaches to c-store ownership in the Edinburgh micro-community. While unique to each respondent, this influence on business entry and development decisions is evident in the following examples of traditional roles and responsibilities: exclusion from the family business on rejection of proposed marriage (8); the oldest son's responsibility to provide for his mother following the father's early death (6); the expectation to follow his father's footsteps (4); obedience to father's wishes (5); the acceptance and sibling acknowledgement of the position of eldest brother to be the family decision maker (19, 20 and 21).

In addition, there is a wide range of attitudes to and the business implications of personal beliefs, values and religion. The contrasting extremes of attitudes are illustrated in two 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants, Respondents 18 and 14. For Respondent 18, adherence to the demands of the Muslim faith restricts product ranges, involvement of female family members in business activity, and confines extended family business ownership to micro city centre newsagents as successful expansion into larger premises would necessitate the sale of alcohol to attain viable business levels, commenting:

We are also restricted in what we can do because we are Muslim. That influences us. It makes a difference, you know, because we can't go for the, you know, off licence or anything, you know. Some people don't feel that, you know. The bigger shops are mostly off licences and if you take the off licence away from the shop it makes a difference. [And you definitely wouldn't do that?] No. So far we have been able to stay away from it and shops like that. [And if you manage to survive then it saves that conflict] That's right. Yes. You have to draw a line, yes. It also influence the way you speak to people, you know and the way you handle the customers. [So then that affects how much involved you are in the business, and various members of the family as well, I presume?] Yes, all of us and what we do. We've survived so far yes. (18: 123-157)

In stark contrast is the attitude of Respondent 14, whose approach to business is shaped by focusing on building relationships with customers, tensions arising from practical issues of product age restrictions rather than religious issues. However, for all other respondents, personal beliefs and values are held in balance with accepted good business practice despite the tensions this creates. The influence of close family remains strong among those interviewed, however the impact of ethnic community and wider family members, traditions and principles are weaker with length of 1<sup>st</sup> generation Edinburgh residence and business ownership, and considerably less influence on the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation of migrants and business owners in the sample.

While there are broad similarities in the range of internal factors affecting business involvement, strategies and aims, it is important stress that the degree of awareness of the existence of these factors and the knowledge of the specific detail and extent of impact on trading approaches and business strategies are unique to each individual micro-business owner.

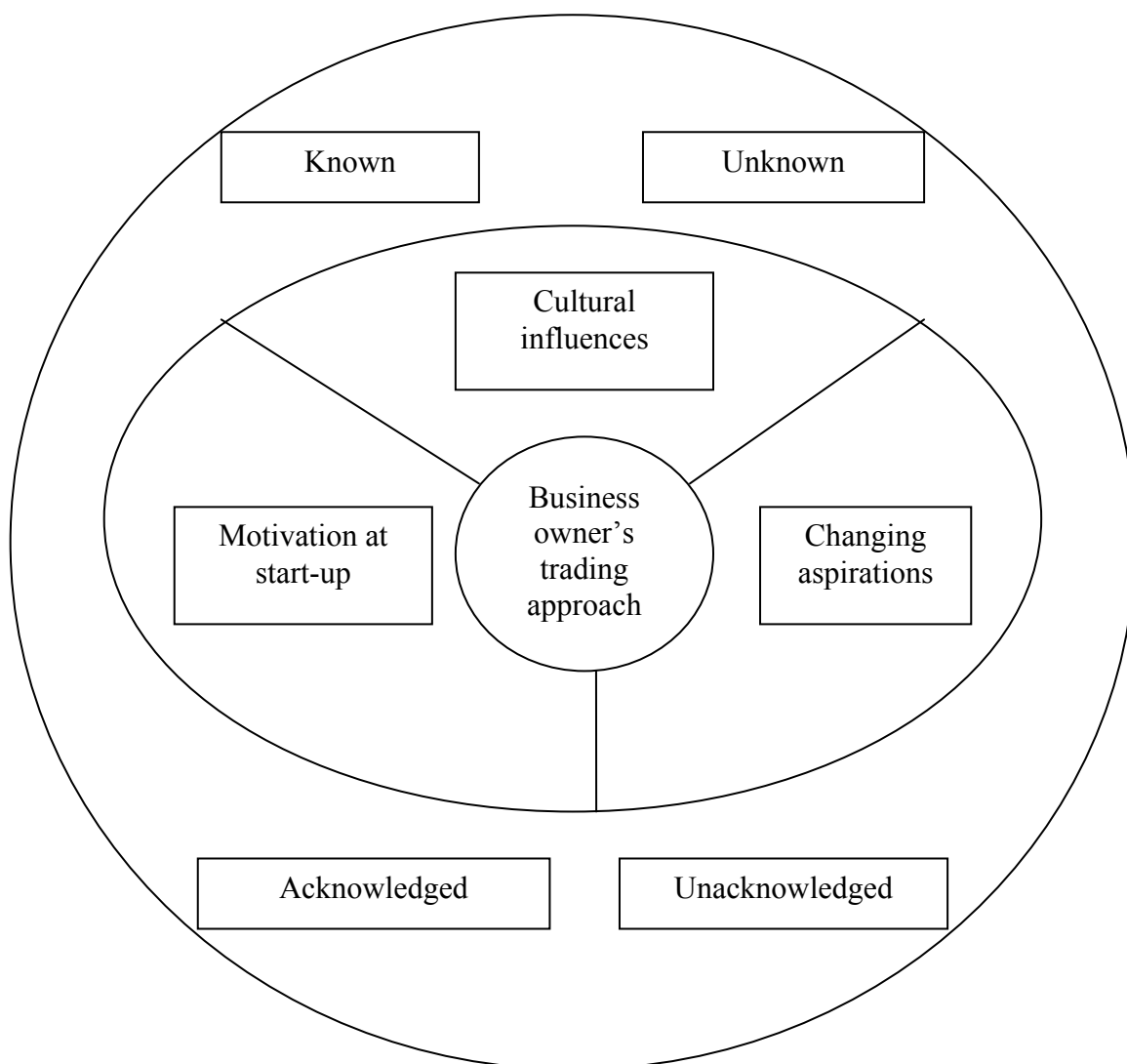
### **5.3 Summary and initial conceptual model**

From the discussion above, it is evident that the Edinburgh Pakistani community exhibits similarities to larger ethnic minority communities in the UK in regards to selective migration and choice of economic activity following community examples and experience. However, due to the size and location of the Edinburgh micro-community, family networks are more important than those of the wider ethnic community. There is less reliance on community finance for business start-up and the use of family financial resources is quite limited. The disparate nature of the community shapes the trading environment, limiting opportunities for reliance on co-ethnic customers and suppliers and resulting in a need to compete within mainstream markets.

While this appears a negative factor to some 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants and business owners, for the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation business owners this level of integration with mainstream businesses provides an advantage for diversifying into other sectors and micro-business activity. In addition, the social integration implicit in the settlement patterns throughout the city result in less perceived racial tension, reduced barriers to alternative economic opportunities and well-integrated 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation minority community members. This degree of integration emerges as having a significant impact on future individual and family aspirations and definitions of success. However, the more important influences and impacts on business entry, continuation and development focus on factors related to evolving trading approaches: the individual micro-business owner's combination of motivation for self-employment; response to personal and business pressures; and future personal and family aspirations. The individual responses to these issues are influenced by three groups of factors: external pressures shaping the business entry decision; changing aspirations with experience, age and responsibilities; and the extent of cultural influences on business and personal values and activities.

While all these factors impacting on both trading environments and individual trading approaches are present to varying degree in all the businesses and individuals included in the research sample, there is a wide variation in the extent to which the issues are known or unknown and, in the case of the internal factors, acknowledged and unacknowledged.

The implication of these issues for trading approaches adopted by individual Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store owners is indicated in the initial conceptual model presented in Figure 5.3.



**Figure 5.3: Internal factors influencing Edinburgh Pakistani community owned c-store development**

In accordance with adaptive grounded theory methodology used for study, a theoretical understanding of these three factor groups is further developed by reviewing lit on these emerging key topics – the being presented in Chapter 6: Second Stage Literature Review.



## **Chapter 6: SECOND STAGE LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **6.1 Minority ethnic businesses**

- The Scottish context
- UK MEB issues

### **6.2 Family business and succession planning**

- The Scottish MEB context
- Family business
- Succession planning

### **6.3 Ethnicity, generations, aspirations and gender**

- Ethnicity
- Generations and aspirations
- Gender

### **6.4 Summary**



As indicated by the adaptive grounded theory methodology adopted for this study, key themes emerging from the data collection and analysis process are to be further explored in the literature in order to develop the researcher's understanding of the specific issues at the focus of the particular empirical study.

The key findings emerging from the fieldwork, presented in the previous chapters, focus on personal and family business aims, motivation and expectations on business start up; changing aspirations and motivation for continued personal and next generational self-employment in the convenience store sector; and the influence on business practice of wider family, community and cultural factors.

This chapter presents these more detailed issues and incorporates an updated review of materials published during the extended time scale of this particular project.

### **6.1 Minority ethnic businesses**

In a contemporary Scottish context, the increasing awareness of the social and economic importance of minority ethnic businesses (MEBs) is acknowledged by the Scottish Government funded study by Deakins et al. (2005) and the Queen Margaret University SCEEBR research of which this study is a part, including (among others) Bent et al. (1999), Welsh and Abdullah (2002), Unis and Ingram (2003), Welsh, Bent, Seaman and Ingram (2003), Abdullah (2005), Ingram, Seaman, Unis and Bent (2005), Bent, Lamb, Seaman and Welsh (2006), Welsh, Seaman, Bent and Lamb (2006), Dassler et al. (2007) and Emslie and Bent (2007), Seaman, Graham, Falconer and Stepek (2007).

This section presents the key findings from this Scottish MEB research, establishes a base upon which to develop links to evidence and conclusions emerging from similar studies into MEB activity in other locations and communities.

#### **The Scottish context**

The Scottish Government sponsored, Deakins et al. (2005) scoping study identified MEBs accounting for over 3% of all self-employment, highest rates being in the Pakistani, Chinese, Indian and Bangladeshi communities. Although there are high concentrations of MEBs in Glasgow and Edinburgh, such enterprises also maintain an important diversity across the Central Belt and in rural areas. MEBs remain

concentrated in the traditional sectors (retail, wholesale and catering), compared to English MEBs now more widely diversified into new and emergent industrial sectors such as IT, communications, media and leisure.

Deakins et al. (2005) suggest that “it is still the case that Scotland is dependent for cultural and ethnic diversity on MEB owners that are both geographically and sectorally concentrated. The continuing vitality and diversity of MEBs will be crucially significant for Scotland’s economy” (Deakins et al., 2005: 7.2).

This has implications for policies to encourage both sectoral engagement of new business start-up and an increased diversification of business support provided. However, as Emslie and Bent (2007) note, there are still poor uptake rates of business advice and support services, and public sector support providers continue to adopt a generic rather than sector and ethnic community specific approaches to the problem.

Deakins et al. (2005) also stress that:

the diversity of minority ethnic enterprise is also important in Scotland ... MBE owners are represented in a considerable range of different sectors ... the pattern of MEB ownership is dynamic and diverse ... reflected in the importance of younger 2<sup>nd</sup> generation owners ... [and] where there is intergenerational transfer of ownership, this may mean particular support needs. (Deakins et al., 2005: 7.4)

Family business and succession issues emerged as a key feature of the barriers to development of the Pakistani community owned convenience stores in Edinburgh at the centre of this study, and these issues are discussed in Section 6.2 of this chapter.

One key barrier facing MEBs in Scotland is identified as being access to finance. Traditionally MEB owners in the UK have relied on informal community and personal sources of finance, and this is still the predominant approach among Scottish South Asian MEB owners, although less so within other minority communities. Reasons given to Deakins et al. (2005) include religious and cultural reasons for not making use of commercial banks and micro-credit or loan funds. However, it should be noted that there appears to be a lack of intermediaries between agencies, banks and ethnic minority community business people that would provide channels of communication and establish relationships of mutual trust on which to

build active funding and support mechanisms (Bent, Lamb, Seaman and Welsh 2006).

In addition, Deakins et al. (2005) note the continued reliance on strong local networks, providing informal finance, social capital and informal business advice and support; these factors identified as a major contribution to South Asian MEB activity in the Scottish context by Dassler et al. (2007) and Emslie and Bent (2007). It should be noted that these ‘local networks’ also extend beyond the UK geographical boundaries. For example, the reliance of the Edinburgh Bangladeshi community on experienced chefs from the sub-continent to join extended family businesses in order to maintain standards and authenticity in the City’s ‘Indian’ restaurants (Abdullah, 2005). The importance of this labour supply is stressed by exceptions made to new Government points system requirements for migrants to the UK to allow the practice to continue (Home Office, 2008).

Interestingly, Deakins et al. (2005: 7.12) note that there was limited support for a MEB representative forum among business owners interviewed as “some felt that such a body might have narrow interests.” These comments, along with comments made in this study’s initial conversations with Edinburgh South Asian community leaders and more recent studies by Ingram et al. (2005) suggest that MEBs should be regarded as a diverse group, rather than adopting a ‘one size fits all’ approach – an issue acknowledged in the following section which presents research findings from empirical research into a range of UK MEB sectors and locations in order to add light to the initial findings from the fieldwork of this study.

### **UK MEB issues and examples**

The evolution of UK MEBs presented in the initial literature review in Chapter 3 is summarised by Chaudhry and Crick (2003), who identify the typical reasons given for self employment in low level retailing as continuing to be: meeting a co-ethnic demand for goods, ease of entry into the retail and c-store sector, language and cultural issues, chain migration and Government policies for new migration, close ties of geography and kinship, and maintained cultural ties. More recent developments are identified by Dhaliwal and Adcroft (2005) as a higher capacity for

wealth creation in the Asian business sector than the UK economy as a whole, overall growth being pushed by the lower and middle section of the sector combined with

a change in the composition of the sector with important shifts away from the traditional Asian business sectors like retailing, textiles and manufacturing towards higher tech and higher value activities with higher levels of economic sustainability. (Dhaliwal and Adcroft, 2005)

Dhaliwal and Adcroft (2005) and Dhaliwal (2008) stress that this increased understanding of the nature of ethnic minority business activity in the UK raises key issues about the extent to which traditional stereotyping and characterisation of MEBs maintain value and currency – and the related implications for investigation of the changing dynamics of the sector in traditional and newly emerging sectoral activity.

Whilst development of UK MEB activity is described as combining the middleman minority opportunities, occupational succession and residential succession to take advantage of expanding ethnic communities, this strategy has not been appropriate in the Edinburgh context. However, an understanding of cultural factors affecting business activity and development in other UK minority communities will enhance understanding of the Edinburgh Pakistani community convenience store owner's situation and response to internal barriers to business development.

The impact and influence of this range of cultural factors on UK Asian-owned small retail enterprises on business practice are identified by Chaudhry and Crick (2003). The traditional approach of providing minority ethnic products to co-ethnic customers is an increasingly impractical business strategy, due to the increasingly integrated nature of the large conurbations in Britain today. Instead, there is a growing necessity to 'break out' and serve the mainstream and other minority ethnic populations. This change in business strategy, however, brings with it a need for MEB owner-managers to change the mindset within which they operate; the ability to change being a factor which Chaudhry and Crick (2003) suggest may be related to ethnicity, influenced by cultural factors.

While the extended family has been seen as an important factor in MEB success, it is questioned what role cultural networks continue to play in gaining and/or maintaining competitive advantage in niche markets. While business theory indicates that firms need to 'break out' to grow, research suggests that not all SME owners want to develop their firms into large enterprises, preferring to operate as 'lifestyle businesses.

Research into Asian-owned retail business (Chaudhry and Crick, 2003) was hampered by a lack of comprehensive databases upon which to base sampling frameworks - the similar situation in Scotland being stressed by Dassler et al. (2007) and UK-wide by British Bankers' Association (2002). However, findings suggest that demographic changes have necessitated a change of mindset in business owners. The breakout strategy is only applicable to growth oriented firms, while many owner-managers operated lifestyle oriented enterprises.

Small retail businesses targeted local, ethnic consumer needs related to both minority and mainstream communities and locations rather than compete with supermarkets and department stores. Informal information sources were utilised, as formal business support providers were considered culturally unaware. In addition, there was a continued reliance on informal family resources for finance and labour.

While there are female entrepreneurs in their own right, the issues of family – predominantly female – workers is highlighted by Dhaliwal (2000), who notes that "many of them [South Asian women] are the backbones of business, playing a pivotal role within that business, but their efforts remain largely unacknowledged" (Dhaliwal, 2000: 446). It appeared frequently to be the case that the male family members run the business, despite registration of the enterprise as family, joint-ownership partnerships, and many South Asian women "did not 'choose' to enter self-employment but had the role enforced on them due to decisions made elsewhere in the family" (Dhaliwal, 2000: 446).

The majority of these MEB SMEs are labour intensive, family businesses, and, while the men have total financial and decision making control, the women (and children) are responsible for the manual, mundane work. Typically, business entry and succession is linked to the male's family, 1<sup>st</sup> generation female education

discouraged and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation education a priority, with MEB SME business involvement not always presumed for males.

It should, however, be noted that South Asian business activity is not confined to the retail sector (Dhaliwal and Adcroft, 2005; Dhaliwal, 2008). Research by Smallbone, Bertolli and Ekanem (2005) into Asians in London's creative industries suggests that all small and micro businesses face a number of constraints. Some of these are generic SME issues, some are specific to the sector, and others appear exclusively Asian business community problems.

The focus of the study on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrants and emerging SME sectors both challenges existing stereotypes of MEBs and raises questions of changing Asian identity. Smallbone et al. stress the need to "recognise the diversity of characteristics and experience between different ethnic minority groups ... [and] another source of diversity in the ethnic population in the UK ... is generational change" (Smallbone, Bertolli and Ekanem, 2005: 43-4). These generational issues are developed in Section 6.2 of this chapter.

It is suggested that increased involvement of Asians in London's creative industries is linked to demographic and social issues, with well-educated young Asians "unwilling to follow their parents into the family corner shop or similar activity" (Smallbone, Bertolli and Ekanem, 2005:46). However, levels of involvement are difficult to assess accurately due to the lack of comprehensive databases noted above, an unwillingness by both business owners and directories to use ethnic tagging, and many of the firms being micro-enterprises operating below the threshold for VAT registration.

The issues and constraints echo the Edinburgh situation identified previously, where barriers to MEB SME development were identified in three areas: generic SME issues including lack of professional and management skills; financial constraints; the cost and availability of premises.

Ethnic minority constraints included: considerable problems in breaking out of ethnic market niches into mainstream markets for both financial and racial stereotyping



reasons; barriers related to the ethnic background of the business owner in traditionally white-owner dominated sectors; difficulties linked to consumer tastes and stereotyping of products; and institutional barriers of traditional industries in the sector. However, Smallbone, Bertolli and Ekanem (2005) also highlight the ways in which ethnicity might be seen as a potential for business opportunities. Cultural ties offer a number of opportunities for MEBs. These include: co-operation to increase negotiating strength with larger suppliers and distributors; taking advantage of international networks to gain advantage through the use of cross-cultural knowledge and experience; developing UK firms' products appropriate to ethnic minority consumer needs; and making use of ethnic ties to develop and exploit international opportunities for trade and labour expertise.

In addition, formal and informal networks offer business development opportunities – although this is not solely an MEB issue. Interestingly, the majority of enterprises included in the study were unimpressed by business support provided by both public and private sector bodies, despite identifying similar business and management support needs typical of generic SMEs. Instead, advice and assistance was “more likely to be informally sourced from family, friends and associates, or from professional such as accountants” (Smallbone, Bertolli and Ekanem, 2005:51). However, Altinay (2008) also relates the extent and nature of markets, labour and business advice to issues relating to cultural background, including education, language and religion.

It should also be noted that there is a growing complexity of identity, with 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrants not perceiving themselves to be MEB owners, but rather as owning and managing sector specific SMEs – this topic being examined more closely in Section 6.2.

This reliance on family and close associate networks is echoed in the exploration of financing preferences of MEB owners by Hussain and Matlay (2007). The study drew comparisons between MEB and white owner-managers in the UK. While family and other informal networks were important to white business owners, it was not to as significant an extent as in the case of ethnic minority entrepreneurs. Despite all the businesses investigated requiring start-up loans, the importance of financial

institutions to MEB owners declined over five years, compared to increased borrowing needs of the white-owned sample businesses.

Personal finance was also important to MEB owners at start-up, but this importance declined as trade credit became increasingly important in terms of profitability. Despite being aware of the role venture capital can play as a strategy for longer term planning, this was not accessed by those interviewed. Instead there was “a preference for less intrusive and more ‘user friendly’ financing options that allowed them to remain in full control of their businesses” (Hussain and Matlay, 2007:498).

The ability to access finance identified by South Asian MEB owners is also regarded as a potential barrier to success by business owners from the wider ethnic minority population in the UK (BBA, 2002). The perception of African-Caribbeans in the UK as lacking “virtually every attribute which facilitates enterprise in other groups” (Ram and Jones, 1998 in Okonta and Pandya, 2007:703) results in the sector being viewed as high risk – therefore restricting financial investment. In order to address this generalised perception and resulting barrier to MEB activity, Okonta and Pandya (2007) identify factors acting as a ‘litmus test’ for entrepreneurial aptitude: alertness to business opportunities; pursuance of opportunities regardless of current resources; adventurous nature of entrepreneur; ‘ideas’ person; restless/easily bored; high profile image maker; proactive personality; and innovativeness. Awareness of these factors and the implications for business practice may enable a greater understanding of business start-up motivation, lifestyle or growth business strategies, and the role of subsequent generations in MEB SMEs.

Further evidence of the continued reliance on co-ethnic resources and entrepreneurial attributes is presented by Altinay and Altinay (2008). Exploration of cultural factors contributing to and restricting the growth of Turkish SME activity in London identifies the following key issues: fluency in English; level of 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrant education; and sojourning orientation of 1<sup>st</sup> and subsequent generations.

This is seen as particularly relevant to the service sector, of which convenience stores (the focus of this study) are a part. Sojourners, defined as “a stranger who spends many years of his lifetime in a foreign country without being assimilated by it” (Siu,

1952:34 in Altinay and Altinay, 2008:29), appear less successful in business than others. Rather, success can be achieved by adopting a longer-term view and becoming increasingly socially, politically and economically embedded in the mainstream community. This 'mixed embeddedness' is an important factor in both MEB and mainstream self-employment activity as it raises awareness of the range of factors influencing business owners. The strength of ties to social networks, the complex interaction of these networks with the economic environment, cultural values, and group identity which may act as a 'push' factor to self-employment need to be balanced with changing attitudes, business awareness and longer term objectives, particularly with regard to subsequent migrant and business owning generations (Barrett, Jones and McEvoy, 2001; Dassler et al. 2007; Altinay and Altinay, 2008).

The relationship between SME owner's characteristics and growth of the enterprise is important in all sectors and communities, in particular motivation for business entry, education and experience. Educational attainment, which assists MEB owners to develop transferable skills and fluency in English, was identified among Turkish SME owners in London as essential to maximise co-ethnic and mainstream business opportunities. However, it is suggested that in addition to these generic issues MEBs have additional factors to consider. Motivation for self-employment and business growth can be shaped by closely integrated social and economic motivations linked to the relative strength of individual and family sojourning orientation, which will change over time and generations of migrant and business ownership (Altinay, 2008; Altinay and Altinay, 2008; McPherson, 2008).

This situation is not unique to any one sector, Hussain, Matlay and Scott (2008) concluding that owner/managers of micro-businesses have higher financial education needs than their counterparts in small and medium-sized business, while at the same time having lower levels of educational achievements. These factors combine to act as barriers to effective day-to-day business management and the development of beneficial relationships with public and private sector support agencies.

The relevance and individual priorities of these factors is echoed in the similarity of findings emerging from the study of knowledge management and transfer within the Edinburgh Bangladeshi owned restaurant sector (Abdullah, Ingram and Welsh, 2009). However, within the sector there remains a lack of basic business skills such as understanding target markets, clearly identifying competition, developing all aspects of the marketing mix and being proactive in strategy formation (Seaman, Bent, Ingram, Welsh and Mederos, 2005).

## **6.2 Family business and succession planning**

The examples examined above suggest that ethnic minority small business activity is increasingly experiencing opportunities and difficulties to mainstream enterprises in similar sectors: access to funding, management skills, increasingly competitive markets, and identifying longer-term business strategies. In addition, there are issues related to ethnicity: real or perceived racial prejudices and blocked mobility and opportunities, intergenerational cultural conflicts, and the role of family influence and traditions.

In order to increase understanding of the potential impact of these factors on internal barriers to Edinburgh Pakistani community convenience store owners' approach to business, the following sections review findings of both generic small business and ethnic minority business and community research into family businesses, succession planning and changing generational aspirations.

### **The Scottish MEB context**

Family enterprises are a feature of the world wide economy, and can be simply defined as "owner-operated/managed ventures with family members (and/or family units) predominantly involved in the administration, operations and strategic determination of corporate destiny" (Poutziouris, Steier and Smyrinos, 2004:8). A more complex definition emerging adds "criteria such as the degree of family ownership, the presence of family on the management board and generational transfer" (ibid), which places these enterprises in a position to readily access both social and human capital.

As Deakins et al. (2005) note:

the role of social capital is of key importance in ethnic minority enterprise development ... revealed through the involvement of family, relatives and the general local community as sources of advice ... used as business mentors, giving direct advice ... used as a sounding board ... [or] as a means of developing and honing concepts and ideas and as an aid to problem solving. (Deakins et al., 2005: 5.38 - 40)

This role is still important for subsequent generations involved in MEBs, both for direct support and to draw upon accumulated experience of family and wider community networks in traditional sectors. However, this is not always a positive experience, as such advice may be limited, limiting or inappropriate.

In addition, MEB owners are frequently able to take advantage of family and community human capital. It is claims that personal development through education in 1<sup>st</sup> generation South Asian business owners in Scotland was limited due to racial factors: colour, language and religion. However, for 2<sup>nd</sup> and subsequent generations the importance of education is increasingly valued within the ethnic minority communities in Scotland, and “ this characteristic of completing education up to degree level, but retaining a strong desire to enter entrepreneurship as a career appears to be strongly represented in South Asian business owners” (Deakins et al. 2005: 5.54). These career choices raise implications for the longer-term forward planning of MEBs – succession or exit self-employment, the transfer of tacit knowledge, and the continued involvement in traditional MEB sectors, many enterprises being family businesses.

### **Family business**

Family businesses generate 30% of GDP in the UK, account for 40% of private-sector employment, and, in 2006, numbered approximately 2.9 million micro-enterprises; with 56% of these being registered as sole traders (Bradley, 2008; IFB, 2008) and clear differences between family and non-family businesses in terms of family and business values, management strategies, and drivers for change (Seaman et al., 2007). However, although family businesses can be seen as driving the UK economy, it is stressed that:

a family business is a double-edged sword. People starting up a family business can get a lot of support in their first few months by having family members around them. However, it can get a lot more difficult as time goes on, because emotion can get involved. (Stepek in Bradley, 2008)

Empirical evidence suggests that family firms nurture a sense of loyalty, vision, commitment, and pride in family tradition. Transfer of entrepreneurial skills from one generation to the next is enhanced by fostering high ethical standards, positive commercial values and a sense of responsibility – an estimated one third of family firms transferring to second generation owners and a tenth to subsequent generations. Positive aspects of family businesses include: familiness (the unique resources and capabilities resulting from the interaction of family members and the business); social capital (the sum of actual and potential resources accessible through individual and social unit networks); and dynamic capabilities (the skill and opportunities possessed by individual family members that contribute to the overall competitive advantage of the enterprise) (Poutziouris, Steier and Smyrinos, 2004).

On a wider stage, these family networks transcend national boundaries (Bagwell, 2008). The example of Vietnamese migrant communities in the UK and their involvement in nail-shops suggests both positive and negative outcomes of family and communities ties. On a positive note these networks provide opportunity structures for new business ideas, social and financial capital, and influence access to specific market sectors for both 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants. The downside of strong cultural links can be to limit innovation and breakout into mainstream markets and sectors, restrict levels of social and economic embeddedness, impose cultural restrictions and responsibilities, and (as was the case with 1<sup>st</sup> generation Pakistani migrants and c-store owners in Edinburgh) miss out on the benefits of information and support agencies.

Theoretical reasons for family-owned business performing better than similar size, sector and locational non family-owned enterprises also include: aligned interests of owners and managers (although in the majority of micro enterprises this is the same individual); loyal staff motivated to build up the family reputation and brand name; a longer-term view of financial investment linked to drawing smaller salaries and re-

investment of profits into the business; more flexible working practices, lower rates of staff turnover and access to a wider labour pool; flexible management approaches and quicker, centralised decision making; and an awareness of the importance of social responsibility developed through building relationships and goodwill with local suppliers and customers (IFB, 2008).

These issues of social responsibility is closely linked to business ethics emerging from the cultural restrictions and responsibilities of the business owner (Altinay, 2008), and have been identified by Spence and Rutherford (2001) as co-responding to one of four perspectives: profit maximisation (short term, maximum profits outweigh any social motivations); subsistence priority (looking to longer-term survival while maintaining individually acceptable standard of living); enlightened self-interest (active in social issues as conscious of potential positive impact on profit and longer-term business survival); and social priority (work seen as a longer-term lifestyle choice rather than wealth-maximising mechanism where social values and actions are integrated into business strategy).

This is further supported by Greenbank (2001), who reports that the behaviour of micro-business owner-managers when setting business objectives is driven by both economic and non-economic factors. The balance between the varying objectives results from the individual's perception of the relative importance of individual, social and economic contexts, and this balance is, in turn, related to flexible aspiration levels shaped by cultural identity derived from membership of an ethnic/religious community and network of ties.

This adaptation of business objectives and practice to remain satisfied with running their own business and the close links between micro-enterprises owners' values and those of the business identified in Section 3.2 indicates a need to understand not only the external economic environment, but also the internal drivers for entering and remaining in self-employment. In this study the emerging issues were changing aspirations, the influence of ethnicity, religion, culture and tradition and these topics are discussed in Section 6.3.

In addition to these potential benefits of family firms there are a range of negative aspects, including: introversion, adoption of conservative approaches to sourcing financial and human capital, lack of professionalism, tendencies towards nepotism, rigidity, informal channels of communication and decision making, family differences of opinion on business strategy and development, and an absence of strategically planned succession (Poutziouris, Steier and Smyrinos, 2004).

Also a reliance on solely family members may have a negative impact in the following areas: reduce skill levels and adversely affect performance; hamper the use of external knowledge; result in a reluctance to change management styles or strategies, embrace new technology or adapt to market challenges; hamper growth due to a reluctance to dilute control, family conflicts such as divorce or infighting, and conflicting financial and lifestyle objectives (IFB, 2008).

Beaver and Jennings (2005) note that extent of small firm success can in some instances be limited due to “an egotistical attitude .. the abuse of entrepreneurial power may lead directly to the failure of the small firm” (Beaver and Jennings, 2005:9). However, the extent, locus and control of decision-making power depends on the nature and psychological framework of the family. These broad frameworks are identified by Nicholson (2005) as enmeshed, fragmented and schismatic families. In enmeshed families parental authority and emotional control is oppressive. There is little or no room to express individuality and, such a family is a closed book to outsiders, often hiding conflict and drama within. The impact on business activity, common in some traditional cultures, is a rejection of business help and the increased potential for next generation to break away from the family business.

Fragmented families exhibit little shared interests, parents being self-absorbed and children having diverse interests. There is an assumption from both parents and children that the business will not transfer down the generations – possibly due to cultural ideas of what the next generation should aspire to. While regarded as a common approach in northern European communities (Nicholson, 2005), it is also increasingly evident among ethnic minority communities in the UK, where education is seen as increasingly important for 2<sup>nd</sup> and subsequent generation migrants (Deakins et al., 2005).



Finally, in a schismatic family there is conflict between generations, branches or clans, or individuals regarded as deviating from the family values and standards of behaviour. A determination by senior members to retain control or interfere with aspects of the business managed by succeeding generations and sibling rivalry over business succession can threaten the longer-term survival of the enterprise (Nicholson, 2005).

By developing open communication, flexibility and a focus on common interests, it may be possible to minimise the potential negative aspects of family enterprise activity, and one successful strategy is a planned succession of business involvement, responsibility and decision making from one generation or family branch to the next.

### **Succession planning**

Succession planning is defined as assuring “a continuing sequence of qualified people to move up and take over the current generation of managers” (Baldwin, 2002, in Unis and Ingram, 2003). However, it is not a simple process but involves ensuring the availability of individuals with the appropriate skills, motivation and authority – particularly in family-run enterprises, and should, therefore been seen as a process not an event.

As discussed above, family firms and micro-enterprises are driven by both economic and non-economic objectives and varying related definitions of success. It is claimed that this dual identity affects the longer-term survival of the enterprise, and survival to second and subsequent generation ownership can only be successfully achieved by a planned succession process. One critical stage in the process is the grooming and mentoring of the chosen successor. While this will have advantages of allowing a gradual transfer of power and authority, disadvantages include stifling initiative and change, and discouraging continued involvement in the enterprise due to intensive grooming, moulding and mentoring. Indeed, evidence suggests that a less intensive approach, within the established values and business ethics, allowing individual diversification and development of skills and expertise in related sectors or locations is more likely to see the enterprise successfully transfer to 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation ownership. Such a process involves “both ‘push’ from the younger generation and

‘pull’ from the older generation’s gradual withdrawal from active decision making ... [and] acceptance of the successor and their strategic agenda” (Ibrahim et al., 2004:135).

The wide-ranging review of relevant literature spanning more than five decades by Ip and Jacobs (2006) identifies a range of issues implicit in understanding the process of planned succession, particularly in family businesses.

This can be seen as being:

engrained in succession mentality ... [having] an understandable desire to leave it [a successful business] in the hands of his/her children ... such nepotism is not necessarily to the detriment of the company in question, since there is some evidence to suggest justifiable economic reasons behind it. (Ip and Jacobs, 2006:330-1)

However, there are also issues related to the successor “acclimatising to a new role ... the willingness of the incumbent owner/manager to stand aside ... [and] adequate control of emotional issues necessary for maintaining trust between family members” (Ip and Jacobs, 2006:331), and, as noted above, the need for appropriate grooming and mentoring. It is also suggested that successful family succession is achieved where there are “positive family relationships, with limited conflict, rivalry and hostility, and good levels of trust” (ibid).

The barriers to successful business transfer in family firms are summarised as:

a lack (or absence) of heirs; life-stage incompatibilities (e.g. parents too old, children too young); children do not want to take over the business; children hold negative impressions of the business; gender (prejudicial treatment of daughters); the business is not viable or inheritance tax/legal issues make succession impractical. (Ip and Jacobs, 2006:335-6)

Clearly, there is no ‘one size fits all’ approach to business succession, rather the stages in the process. A key factor in the decision to embark on such a course of action is the willingness and ability of subsequent generations to remain involved in the either self-employment or the same sector. As Deakins et al. (2005) noted among family MEBs in Scotland:

in traditional sectors there may be a reluctance of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation to continue in the family business ... in some cases there a differing attitudes of the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation even where they do wish to continue with the family business. (Deakins et al., 2005: 7.17)

While many of these issues are generic business issues, the ethnic minority community approach to self-employment and wider economic activity will also be ethnicity, generational, motivation/aspiration and gender specific to MEBs (Basu, 2004; Deakins et al., 2005; Smallbone, Bertolli and Ekanem, 2005; Dhaliwal and Kangis, 2006; SouthAsiaNet, 2007; Emslie and Bent, 2007; Kirkwood, 2007).

### **6.3 Ethnicity, generations, aspirations, and gender**

Analysis of ethnic business owners in the UK highlights a “diversity of aspirations and a complex interaction of factors related to ethnicity, culture, class and entrepreneurship” (Basu, 2004:12). The motivation for business entry and continued self-employment is a complex issue, an introduction to the subject being presented in Section 3.4, and the emerging relevance to this study focuses on a combination of changing aspirations over generations and length of residence in the UK and Edinburgh, the extent of mixed social and economic embeddedness, and the influence of family and ethnic values, culture and tradition.

#### **Ethnicity**

For South Asians in the UK, and Pakistani communities in particular, social and economic behaviour, norms and values are based on cultural roots, the role of religion and changing generational identities. Evidence of the changing nature of these factors between UK and Pakistan-based families and communities are summarised by SouthAsiaNet (2007).

British-Pakistani communities have their roots in the kinship networks of rural towns and areas, migrating for economic and political reasons. Pioneer migrants safeguarded and propagated their cultural traditions, while later generations gradually adopted more Western standards and attitudes. The influence of Islam – with implications for family and gender roles, rules and standards of behaviour, and business strategies – has remained, but increasingly become a source of friction between generations. There are moves away from conservative approach of separation from mainstream society in some communities, while in other locations experiences of racial prejudice, harassment and disadvantage have had the opposite effect (SouthAsiaNet, 2007).

The business implications of this are the extent of breakout strategies, range of goods and services provided, and the extent to which sectoral competitive advantage can be gained; McPherson (2008) suggesting that factors such as sectoral influences, type of business, aspirations for the business and prior experience increasingly take priority over cultural, ethnicity and religious factors in determining business behaviour.

As noted by Aldrich, Jones and McEvoy (1984) and Altinay and Altinay (2008), the evolution of immigrant communities is affected by the degree of sojourner mentality retained by communities, individuals and generations. This shows itself in the increasing identity crisis evident among Asian communities (social and economic) in the UK.

The ongoing need for financial security once the reality of returning to the homeland leads to longer-term decisions about economic activity: remain in low level employment, move to low level self-employment, succession and growth issues. At the same time social pressures on 2<sup>nd</sup> and subsequent generations force families and communities to address the extent to which traditions are adhered to, for example language, dress, social interaction, gender roles and education. This relates to business activity in the extent of involvement of females in business and education, family structures changing resource availability and accessibility, source, focus and strength of community and peer group pressures, and decision-making authority (SouthAsiaNet, 2007).

While many changes and adaptation in issues affecting ethnicity are positive, conflicting values, influences and pressures may contribute to tension both between minority and mainstream communities and within ethnic communities and extended family units. To understand the impact this may have on MEBs, it is necessary to examine the changing generation motivations and aspirations and gender and role issues more closely.

### **Generations and aspirations**

Generational change is seen to be a factor in the increasing diversity of economic activity of ethnic minority communities in the UK. Despite a range of factors influencing 1<sup>st</sup> generation business ownership (business, family, money or lifestyle-

first motivation and aspiration) there is an expectation of an increased convergence with mainstream population approaches and issues among 2<sup>nd</sup> and subsequent generations - business owners and migrant (Basu, 2004:19).

Dhaliwal and Kangis (2006) suggest reasons for this include the following factors: 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants' primary aims for comfort, security; the maintenance of family culture and traditions whilst taking advantage of new opportunities; keeping family members together and in employment; and gaining community status of being business owners. The importance of the family unit, and the role of religion, traditions, and rituals reduced the need and opportunity to integrate with mainstream communities. However, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation community had potentially conflicting influences, including home and community, school, media and peer groups, which increased the tensions and generation gaps when education, employment and career choices are made.

The longer term impact of these factors is that Asian entrepreneurs:

have moved away from some of the values and anchors of the first immigrant generation ... are more sophisticated, more confident, more articulate ... have fewer members in extended family in the UK ... are aware of their value as economic units of labour ... realize their worth as graduates ... [and] independence has greater attraction than the security of community interdependence. (Dhaliwal and Kangis, 2006:94)

This increased 'mixed embeddedness' (Barrett, Jones and McEvoy, 2001; Dassler et al., 2007) comes about as:

the role of so-called cultural influences weaken over time, and more education and human capital contribute to greater opportunities in labour markets, as well as to a greater ability to identify and exploit entrepreneurial opportunities in higher added activities. (Smallbone, Bertolli and Ekanem, 2005:44)

Indeed, as the experience of immigrant business activity in the Netherlands suggests, second generation immigrant business owners are increasingly active in mainstream markets and "have become as successful in running a business as native Dutch entrepreneurs" (ITS (2007) in Rusinovic, 2008: 451).

Specific issues underlying these changing motivations and aspiration include changing perceptions of ethnicity, language barriers, and perceived cultural differences (SouthAsiaNet, 2007).

In contrast to 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants, the business entry decision by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation is seen as a positive choice rather than a last resort. However, there is evidence that, despite the wider available opportunities, there is still a tendency to engage in businesses requiring long hours, low financial returns and little opportunity for growth. Reasons for this are suggested as incorporating a desire for independence and reward for abilities and efforts, the decision also being influenced by cultural background issues and expectations (Dhaliwal and Kangis, 2006).

This MEB evidence links closely to findings from recent wider mainstream research into the motivation for self-employment business start-up. The key driver for self-employment emerges as autonomy. This is seen as an opportunity to achieve a range of goals, including independence (avoid bosses or rules), self (work in accordance with one's goals, values and attitudes), and determination (decision control, power and leadership) (van Gelderen and Jansen, 2006).

In addition, evidence from ethnic minority communities established during the early waves of immigration indicates that 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation community members increasingly take advantage of higher and further education opportunities before making the self-employment entry or continuation decision. This is frequently seen by both older and younger generations to be the opportunity to move away from low level sectors, such as the traditional South Asian involvement in the micro retailing, catering, wholesale and service sectors. Instead, there is a move into higher prestige, and potentially higher financially rewarding, former mainstream dominated activities and professions (Smallbone, Bertolli and Ekanem, 2005).

These views are supported by the identification of links between religion, language fluency and education levels and business approach (Altinay, 2008) and the work of Hussain, Matlay and Scott (2008), who suggest that "there is 'over-education' amongst ethnic minority groups in general and graduates in particular (i.e. the education level is higher than that required by the jobs in which they are employed)" (Hussain, Matlay and Scott, 2008: 739).

While these generational changes provide increased opportunities for economic and social equality for the ethnic minority communities, there is cause for concern about the continuation of the traditional sectors. This is particularly relevant to this study

into ethnic minority Edinburgh convenience store involvement due to the social importance of the sector.

In the Edinburgh context, the Pakistani community at the focus of this study developed during later waves of immigration and the subsequent move away from manufacturing and service sector employment into business ownership. However, as Emslie and Bent report, similar issues emerge, with “differences between first, second and third generations in terms of utilising business support ... younger owners and managers are ... becoming less reliant on their strong informal networks” (Emslie and Bent, 2007:472).

### **Gender**

In addition to these broad generational issues, further changes are evident in the gender role expectations, as the largely hidden role of 1<sup>st</sup> generation women in family business activity (Dhaliwal, 2002) is changing with the extended generational spread of involvement in MEB activity – these issues within UK Asian communities being explored by Dhaliwal and Kangis (2006).

Despite the restrictions of being less well educated than their male counterparts and the traditional wife and mother expectations, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation female immigrants are increasingly becoming joint owners of enterprises and have family members involved in the business. The role of many women in co-owned enterprises is secondary to their more visible and dominant decision-making spouse. While those in sole ownership or operation acknowledge weaknesses in finance and marketing skills, attributes to success focus on people skills, customer care and hard work. This contrasts to males who more frequently have family and siblings in business to facilitate business entry, receive positive family and community support, advice and resources, and the expectation of spouses to put their business activities and involvement before family demands.

Motivation for self-employment among Asian females includes the expectation to support spouses’ existing or new business activities, a desire for control and the opportunity to escape from unsuitable employment. This compared to male motivation linked to family expectations, obligations and pressure, disillusion with

employment, and a desire for independence and control. Family influence on the business entry decision is seen as being both positive and negative, due to levels of involvement in decision making, attitudes to risk taking, the need to succeed, and access to family resources.

Perceived challenges to growth are lack of finance and time or labour. In addition, females reported acceptance as a business person and juggling business and family roles as the main barriers to success. In contrast, males stressed the restriction as involving bureaucracy and legislation, and the community and mainstream perception of sectoral involvement or niche markets.

These gender differences may be linked to what Kirkwood (2007) calls the family embeddedness perspective. While there is much evidence that a family history of entrepreneurship and business ownership is often linked to the business entry decision, gender differences exist. The response to parental influence parallels the independence versus interdependence masculine and feminine stereotypes: men tending to desire independence from or to compete with their fathers; women learning from, being encouraged by and seeing parents as role models.

Changing family and kinship network composition and the availability of finance may influence generational involvement in business ownership, but it is that a stronger influence will be that of family (particularly male) norms, attitudes and values based upon cultural roots.

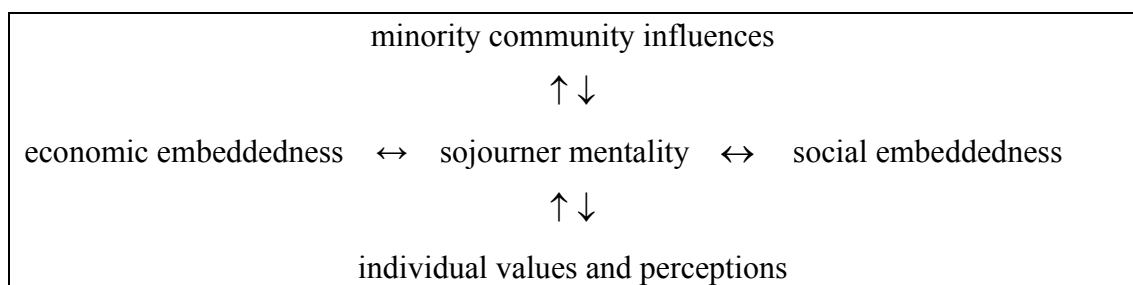
#### **6.4 Summary**

The empirical and conceptual/secondary research findings presented in the above literature review suggests that business development incorporates both generic small business and minority ethnic business issues. External factors impacting on trading environments are common to all enterprises in a particular geographic location and sector of the economy. Although largely outwith the control of individual business owners, the success of any particular enterprise depends on strategies developed to face these challenges and threats to survival. However, the trading approaches adopted will vary with the individual motivation, resource availability and longer



term aspirations for continued self-employment and sector involvement of both the current owner, family members and subsequent generation migrants.

Key influences on future minority ethnic micro-enterprise self-employment fall in to three categories: changing sojourner mentality of the business owner with increasing social and economic embeddedness in the mainstream community; individual aims, aspirations for future generations, succession plans and attitude to traditional cultural values; and community influences, networks and resources. An illustration of these interactions is presented in Figure 6.1: Issues impacting on minority ethnic business approaches.



**Figure 6.1: Issues impacting on minority ethnic business approaches**

These broad categories include consideration of the extent and accessibility of community resources, priority given to gaining formal educational and business qualifications, loyalty to continued generational family business involvement, the diversity of aspirations and interaction of factors relating to ethnicity, gender, culture, class and continued self-employment. In addition, it is suggested that responses to these issues is also affected by the degree of individual and minority community mixed social and economic embeddedness in the mainstream community. This embeddedness is enhanced by generational changes in opportunities for economic and social equality, with the potential outcome of a move away from traditional sectors.

It is important to note that the relevance of these issues is not static, but varies with individual perceptions of the nature and extent of both opportunities, threats and

pressures presented by external trading environment issues and internal motivational influences shaping culture, trading approaches and business aims and strategies.

The nature and extent of the interactions presented in Figure 6.1: Issues impacting on minority ethnic business approaches, when explored in conjunction with the initial conceptual model emerging in the previous chapter (Figure 5.3: Internal factors influencing Edinburgh Pakistani community owned c-store development), provide a basis for the development of a theoretical and conceptual understanding of the internal factors influencing small business development among Edinburgh South Asian community c-store owners presented in Chapter 7.

## **Chapter 7: THEORY DEVELOPMENT**

### **7.1 Theory development**

### **7.2 Extant theory – theoretical model and interview topics**

Theoretical model – broad sensitising concepts

Interview topics

### **7.3 Emergent data – themes**

### **7.4 Adaptive theory – initial conceptual model**

### **7.5 Extant theory – factors clarified**

### **7.6 Emergent data – developed conceptual model**

### **7.7 Adaptive theory – refined model and new theory/conceptual development**

Refined model

New theory and conceptual model development



This chapter brings together a review of the literature and conceptual understandings pertaining to the operations of micro, small and medium sized businesses, and the findings of a detailed empirical study of independent micro convenience-store owners drawn from Edinburgh's South Asian community.

Earlier chapters have outlined internal barriers to small and micro business development. these are described within a cultural and institutional context of a key segment of a local service economy and provide settings for conceptual explanations, or theory, and guides to practical tools and policies to support ethnically owned businesses.

As stated in Chapter 1, the primary aim of this thesis has been to identify and explore the interaction of the internal and cultural factors and barriers influencing the development of micro convenience stores owned by members of Edinburgh's South Asian community.

This chapter reflects on the nature of theoretical and conceptual contributions to knowledge and presents the stages in developing a conceptual model illustrating the factors contributing to the internal barriers to small business development. The resulting increased understanding of the range of factors to be considered when designing and targeting appropriate business support and assistance to the development of an essential sector and a very small minority community may enable policy makers to develop business support and assistance designed to appear relevant and appropriate to the particular needs of the target population.

## **7.1 Theory development**

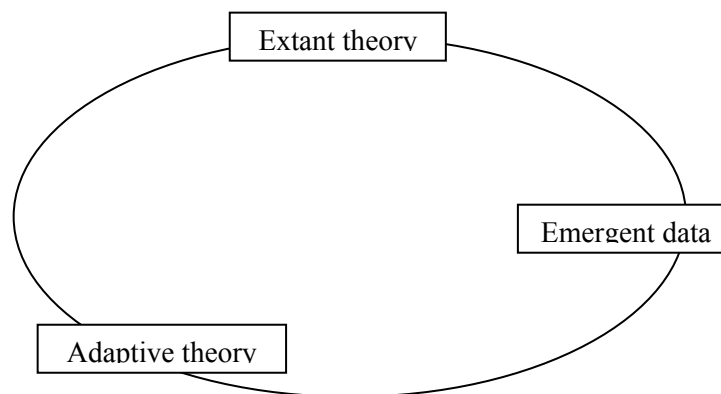
When developing theory – or conceptual models - it is necessary to consider four essential elements: what; how; why; and who, where, when (Whetten, 1989).

Good theory considers which variables, constructs and concepts should be considered part of the explanation of the phenomena of interest, while sensitively balancing the relevance of each factor or component. These factors are then linked conceptually to identify and refine sets of relationships. The underlying psychological, economic or social dynamics and the proposed causal relationships

combine to form the rationale upon which new theoretical assumptions, concepts and models develop.

The final element – who, where and when – raise issues of sensitivity, context and perspective, thus placing “limitations on the propositions generated and set the boundaries on generalizability from a theoretical model” (Whetten, 1989: 492). However, it is important to acknowledge that new theory and conceptual model building is seldom generated from scratch, rather it emerges from adding and subtracting factors from existing frameworks and identifying the changes this makes in the accepted relationships between variables through the introduction of compelling evidence. In order to advance theory and conceptual development in new settings it is necessary to incorporate a conceptual/theoretical feedback loop in which new conditions improve the tool for conceptual understanding and practical implications, rather than simply reaffirm its usefulness.

In order to achieve these aims of conceptual/theory development, the adaptive grounded theory methodology and appropriate research methods adopted in the research process have followed a cyclical process, illustrated in Figure 2.1, of allowing a starting point for data collection based extant theory to identify emerging themes and initial adaptive theories, these being further reviewed in literature to assist in the refinement of initial conceptual understandings of the issues.



**Figure 2.1: Relations between extant theory, emergent data and adaptive theory**  
(Source: Layder, 1998: 167)

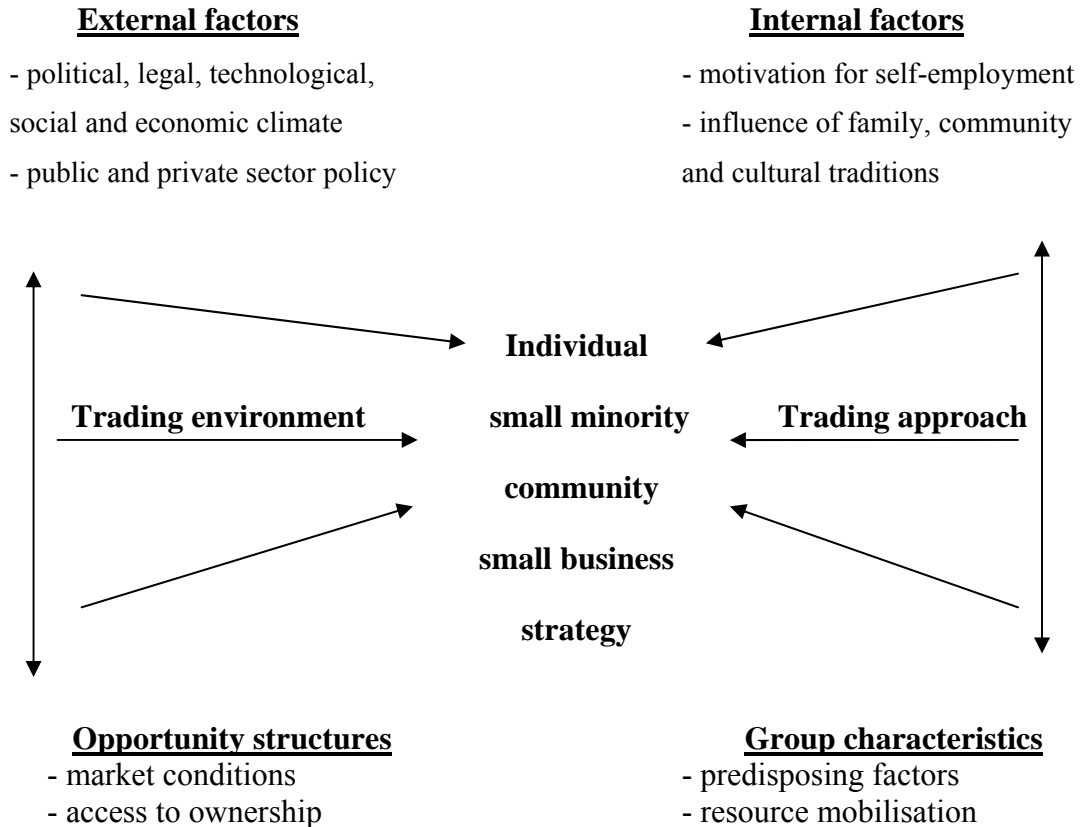
The remaining structure of the chapter presents a brief summary of the issues emerging in each stage of this research process, including edited versions of each of the figures presented in this thesis contributing to the evolving understanding of the issues at each stage of the research process. A conceptual model is presented to be of use in achieving the desired outcomes of the study: assisting business support providers to develop and market schemes and packages targeted at the needs of minority ethnic community micro-business owners that will appear relevant and an investment of resources rather than a drain on resources, thus improving up-take rates and, in theory, the success and security of the individual business owners, their minority communities and the relevant sectors of economic activity.

## **7.2 Extant theory – theoretical model and interview topics**

Building from the researcher's practical experience of the issues involved in micro-retail ownership, prior theoretical understanding of small and micro-business theory, and personal preconceptions and stereotypes, the wide-ranging initial literature review identified factors potentially impacting on individual trading strategies and approaches adopted and/or evolving among minority community small and micro-business owners. This process formed the foundation for both the initial theoretical conceptual model and the range of topics to be included in the qualitative data collection and analysis phase of the study.

### **Theoretical model – broad sensitising concepts**

As illustrated in the theoretical conceptual model emerging from the review of relevant literature providing evidence-based insights into broad sensitising concepts affecting small and micro-enterprise owners' experience (Figure 3.3), research suggests the trading environment is shaped by generic external PEST factors and ethnic minority opportunity structures linked to market conditions and access to ownership. In contrast, the trading approach adopted is dependent on generic internal motivating factors, and the influence of family, community and tradition – this being linked to minority community characteristics of predisposing factors and resource availability.



**Figure 3.3: Factors influencing small minority community small business strategies**

### **Interview topics**

The conceptual understanding of the issues and interactions shaping trading environments and approaches suggested key topics emerging from the literature influencing individual business strategies. These broad topics provided the framework for deductive, the empirical data collection phase of the study and the conversations with respondents covered personal and business background, individual motivating factors and perceptions of influences, and ethnic strategies adopted. The iterative nature of the adaptive grounded theory methodology added topics relating to succession planning and symbol group membership during the fieldwork phase.



## **Interview Topics:**

### **1. Personal background**

Age, education, ethnic origin

Family, generation, residence pattern

### **2. Business background**

Experience, reason for business entry, family business activity

Location, type, age of business, growth pattern, other businesses, employees

Business aims

### **3. Motivational factors**

Push and pull factors – choices, options, expectations, pressure

Personal goals and values – desire for independence, need for achievement, needs priorities, traditions vs individual ambitions

### **4. Individual perceptions**

Family influences

Community influences

Racial issues and constraints

Business success – potential, realistic, reasons for difference

### **5. Ethnic strategies**

Opportunity structures – market conditions, access to ownership

Group characteristics – predisposing factors, family and community resources

Business strategies – family and co-ethnic labour, finance and markets, diversification in product and market

Barriers to business development – competition, trading environment, business strategies, personal factors of age, training and motivation

Business assistance – awareness, uptake, expectations

### **6. Succession planning**

Generational attitudes to self-employment

Succession planning.

### **7. Symbol groups**

Attitude to symbol group membership Perceived advantages and disadvantages.

**Figure 3.4: Interview topics**

### **7.3 Emergent data – themes**

As presented in detail in Chapter 5: Emerging Themes, and summarised in Figure 5.1, constant comparison of the data collected from in-depth interviews with 21 respondents throughout Edinburgh identified a range of key themes and barriers evident to varying degrees in the c-store owners included in the theoretical sample.

Four common themes emerge: the traditions of independent business activity through involvement in self-employment in c-stores and small and micro-enterprises in a range of sectors of close and extended family members in both the UK and Pakistan; limited 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrant academic qualifications and a lack of formal business qualifications in all business owner generations; social and economic integration due to the size and location of the community shaping markets and perception of low barriers to business and family opportunities and limited racial restraints compared to the experience in larger minority communities elsewhere in the UK; and a strong desire for personal independence and control.

In addition, divergent themes focus on a number of issues: the individual nature of business aims, motivation for business start-up and continuation, and definitions of success; the extent of reliance on family and community resources; individual reconciliation of business practice with personal, family and community ethics and beliefs; and changing aspirations within and for subsequent generations of migrant community and business ownership.

<b>Common threads</b>	<b>Divergent themes</b>
Family (close, extended, UK, Pakistan) involvement in micro/SME/c-store	Business aims – empire, constant, exit
No formal business qualifications and need for independence	Ethnic strategy – opportunities/business entry, resources (human and financial)
Serve mainstream community	Individual motivation for start-up and continued involvement
Increasing social and economic embeddedness	Influence of culture and tradition – restricting, balancing act, ignored
Perceived/actual external business threats	Aspirations – 1 <sup>st</sup> gen, 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen, future

**Figure 5.1: Factors in Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store involvement**

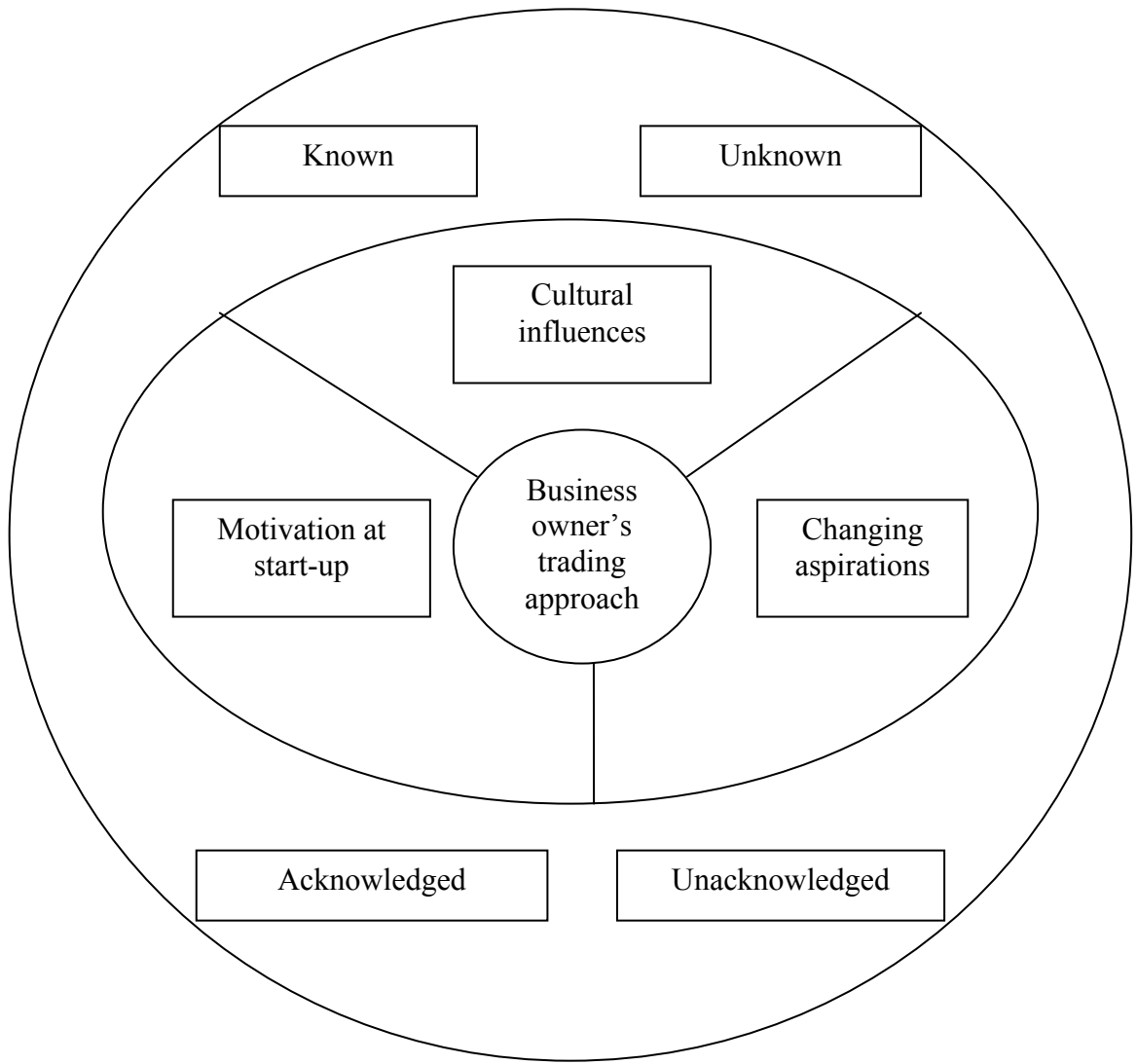
#### **7.4 Adaptive theory – initial conceptual model**

The next stage in theory development cycle is to compare the above themes emerging from individual perceptions of the theoretical issues impacting on, and barriers to, c-store development of the 21 Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store owners interviewed with the theoretical model developed from the literature.

As presented in Chapter 5, this process suggests that the Edinburgh Pakistani community exhibits similarities to larger ethnic minority communities in the UK when responding to factors shaping the trading environment in regards to selective migration and the choice of self-employment economic activity following community examples and experience. In contrast to larger communities, the small size and scattered location of the Edinburgh Pakistani population limits opportunities evident in larger, more concentrated minority communities for reliance on co-ethnic customers, suppliers and resources, lessens inter-community tensions and barriers to development, and impacts on future individual and family aspirations and definitions of success.

When examining the factors emerging as key influences on trading approaches adopted among the research population (motivation for self-employment, response to personal and business pressures, and future personal and family aspirations), there is broad agreement with the theoretical understanding that responses to the largely generic external pressures in a specific location shaping the business entry decision are shaped by internal factors relating to changing aspirations with experience, age and responsibilities, and the extent of cultural influences on business and personal values and activities. However, it is important to stress the individual nature of these factors and the extent to which the issues are known and acknowledged.

The implication of these issues for trading approaches adopted by individual Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store owners is indicated in the initial conceptual model presented in Figure 5.3.



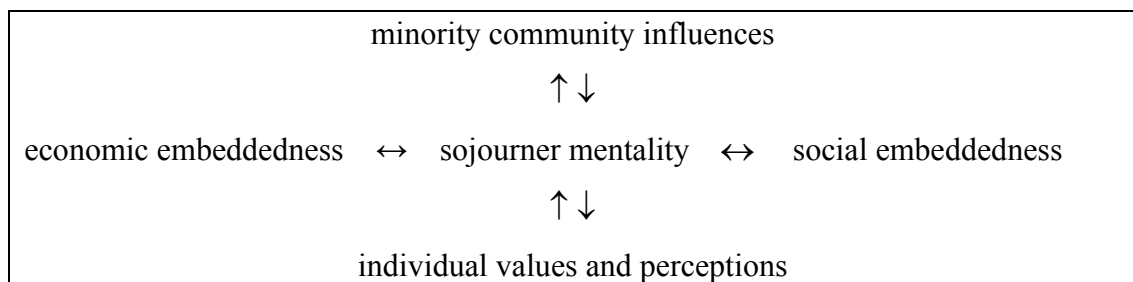
**Figure 5.3: Internal factors influencing Edinburgh Pakistani community owned c-store development**

### **7.5 Extant theory – factors clarified**

In order to develop a deeper understanding of the issues emerging from the data and combined in the initial conceptual model, a second literature review was undertaken in order to allow a closer examination of the topics and identify new understandings of the issues emerging in a wider range of minority communities and sectors of economic activity during the fieldwork stage and the extended time scale of the research.

Issues emerging from this process suggest that that business development incorporates both generic small business and minority ethnic business issues. Trading approaches adopted to address the external generic small business location and sector threats to survival vary with individual motivation, resource availability, and longer term aspirations for continued self-employment and sector involvement of both the current owner, family members and subsequent generation migrants.

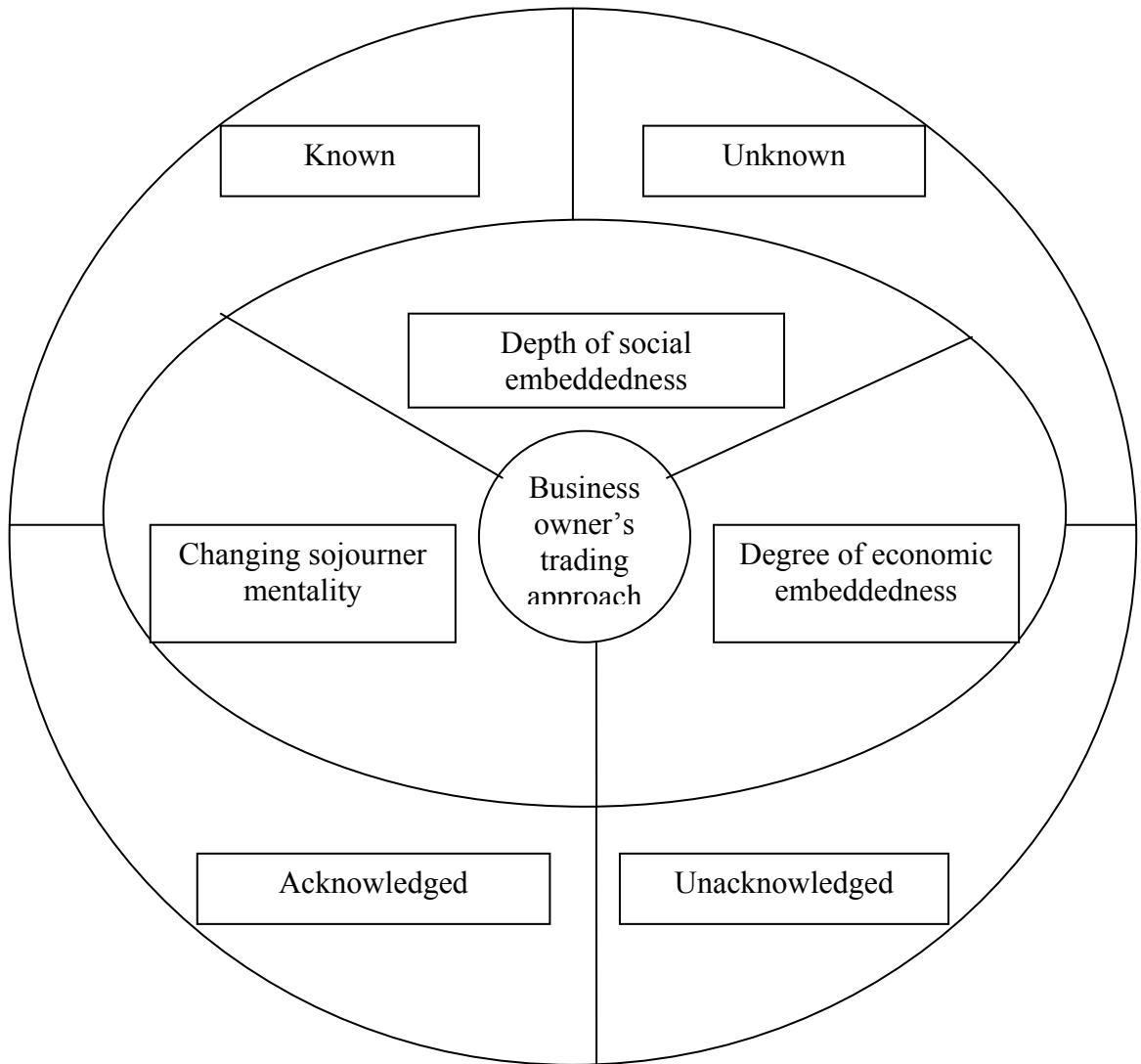
In addition, as illustrated in Figure 6.1, future minority ethnic community micro-enterprise self-employment is theoretically shaped by changing sojourner mentality of the business owner with increasing social and economic embeddedness in the mainstream community, individual aims, aspirations for future generations, succession plans and attitude to traditional cultural values, and community influences, networks and resources.



**Figure 6.1: Issues impacting on minority ethnic business approaches**

### **7.6 Emergent data – developed conceptual model**

The developed generic understandings of the issues identified and presented in the initial conceptual model of the factors influencing Edinburgh Pakistani community owned c-store development (Figures 5.3 and 6.1) are combined in Figure 7.1 to produce a developed exploratory model, presented in the same format as the initial conceptual model to suggest the link between the emerging themes evident within the Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store context and the generic minority micro-business experience.



**Figure 7.1: Factors influencing Edinburgh micro-minority community micro-enterprise development**

## **7.7 Adaptive theory – refined model and new theory/conceptual development**

### **Refined model**

The final stage in the iterative theory development cycle is to revisit themes emerging from the initial analysis of the empirical data with these increased, expanded and more focused understandings of the theoretical concepts by comparing the key issues shaping trading approaches in the Edinburgh Pakistani c-store ownership context (Figure 5.3) with that experienced in other minority and mainstream community micro-enterprise activity (Figure 7.1).

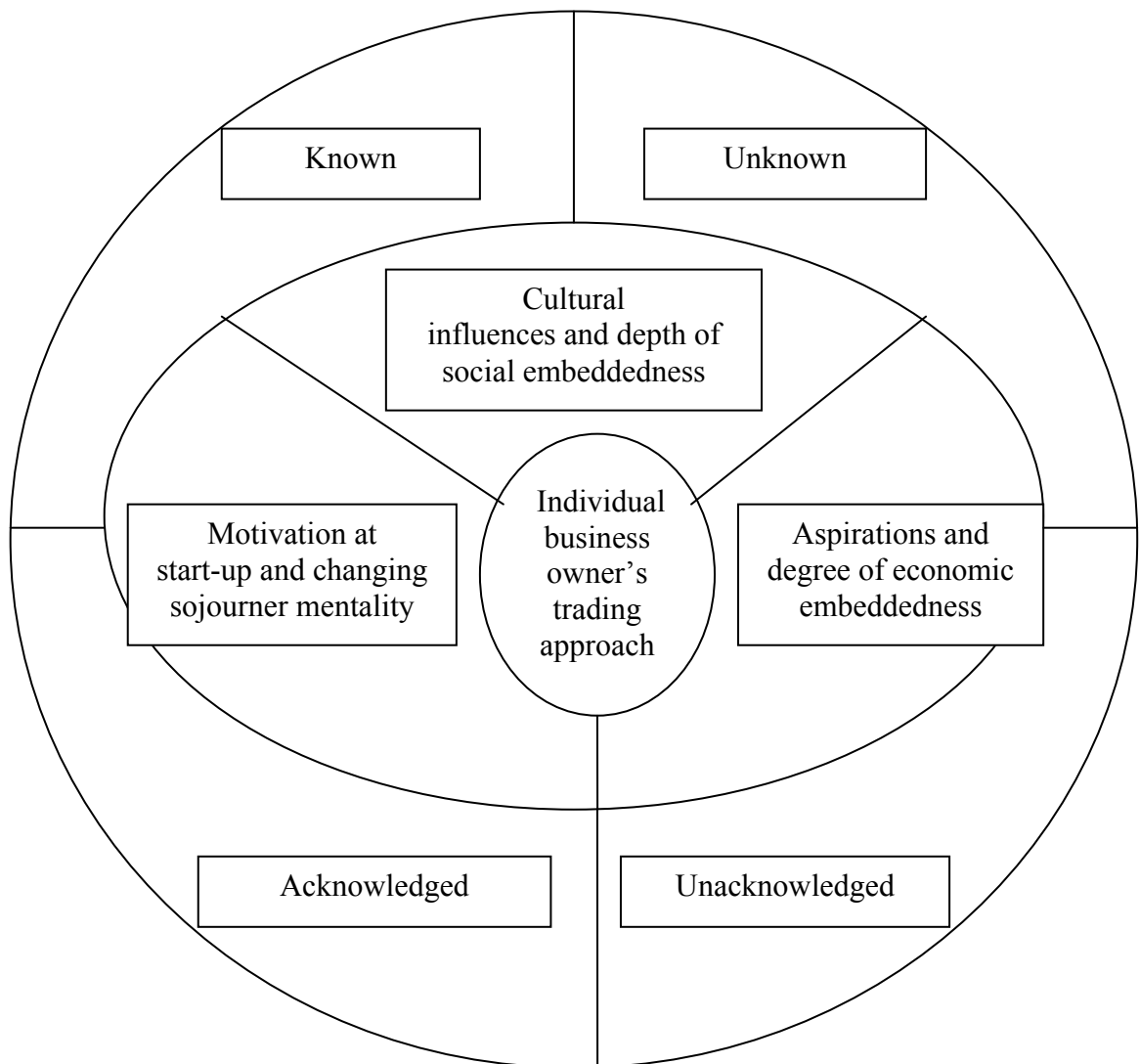
The outcome of this process identifies linkages between the concepts evolving from the empirical study of Edinburgh Pakistani convenience store owners, theoretical understandings, and empirical evidence from a range of minority communities and micro-business sectors of the economy.

The individual motivation to enter self-employment is linked to changing sojourner mentality. Intentions for migration to the UK to simply be a temporary stay, providing finance to fund a return to the homeland with the means for a secure future, change over time. As the urgency to return lessens and family members also migrate to the UK, motivation to work changes. In the case of the Edinburgh Pakistani community this prompts the business entry decision, and, as evident in the wider UK minority communities, the evolving attitude to returning to the sub-continent continues to influence the extent and nature of economic activity with subsequent generations.

One of the key emerging themes impacting on business involvement and trading approaches is the influence of culture and traditions. For early migrants these issues are important, relating to family expectations, traditional roles and adherence to the demands of religion and cultural norms. Evidence suggests that these factors are still strong in larger minority communities. However, in the Edinburgh micro-community and among latter generation migrants these cultural influences are diluted with increased individual and family social embeddedness in the mainstream community. Business and personal aspirations also evolve with settlement patterns and cultural influences. Theoretically, as communities and individuals become established in a location or economic sector, varying trading approaches emerge, ranging from providing ethnic goods and services to c-ethnic customers, acting as a middleman between minority and mainstream communities, and breaking out to compete in mainstream business activities. While the size and settlement pattern of the Edinburgh Pakistani community limits the alternatives available, the empirical evidence indicates that, as identified elsewhere in the UK minority communities, there is an increasing expansion from the core businesses into wider sectors more traditionally associated with the mainstream community. As minority communities become more closely economically embedded in the mainstream community, further

opportunities emerge, thus widening individual aspirations both within established families and communities and, more importantly, for the economic success of future generations.

Superimposing the initial model of internal factors influencing Edinburgh Pakistani community owned c-store development (Figure 5.3) on the developed model of factors influencing Edinburgh micro-minority community micro-enterprise development (Figure 7.1) allows the development of an understanding of the potential issues impacting on minority community micro-enterprise development. the conceptual model emerging from this process is presented in Figure 7.2.



**Figure 7.2: Conceptual model of internal factors influencing minority community micro-enterprise development**



### **New theory and conceptual model development**

The new theory of factors influencing minority community micro-enterprise development emerging from the research presented in this thesis is that the trading approaches adopted by individual micro-business owners in response to generic and sector and location specific trading environments are a combination of three factors: motivation for business start-up and changing personal and family sojourner mentality; the nature and extent of the influence of ethnic and religious culture and tradition and the depth of personal and family social embeddedness in the mainstream community; and the changing aspirations and the degree of economic embeddedness with successive migrant generations.

However, it is important to stress that, although there is evidence that the issues are present in the individual examples included in this and wider studies, there is a large variation in the extent to which these factors are known and the impact on self-employment is acknowledged.

The implications of these factors for public and private sector business support providers in the development of products and services targeted to the needs of particular communities and market sectors are identified in the following chapter.



## **Chapter 8: CONCLUSION**

### **8.1 The research**

Rationale

Aims and outcomes

Methods and methodology

### **8.2 The findings**

Emerging themes

Conceptual model

### **8.3 Recommendations**

Further research

Business support providers

### **8.4 Final comment**



In order to draw the thesis to a close, this concluding chapter divides into four sections:

The research rationale, aims and objectives are reviewed, the methodology and methods used in the theoretical and empirical stages of the research process are critiqued, and key emerging themes are reprised.

A summary of the answers to the research questions are presented and conclusions are drawn.

Recommendations are made for further academic research to widen the scope of the findings emerging to increase understanding of the issues relevant to other ethnic minority communities and additional sectors of economic activity, and practical implications for business support providers are presented.

Finally, the developed conceptual model of internal factors influencing minority community micro-enterprise development is presented.

## **8.1 The research**

### **Rationale**

Small, independent retailers are a traditional economic feature of the UK high street. Despite changes in consumer behaviour and the increasing focus on large, out of town retail developments, convenience stores, in particular, also play a social role, continuing to provide goods and services locally for those unable to access alternative retail outlets. However, increasing market share competition, rising costs and socio-demographic changes present an ongoing challenge to c-store and other micro-retail enterprise owners' survival.

Typically, the majority of such micro-enterprises are owned by members of UK ethnic minority communities – in the case of Edinburgh over two thirds of the c-stores being owned by members of the city's Pakistani community, comprising less than one percent within the overall population. Thus the implications of large scale failures of enterprises in the c-store sector will have an impact on both the local communities served by such shops and the minority community business owners. Despite the wealth of business support available, there is a very low uptake level, largely due to a perception that the information is irrelevant to the sector and too high a cost, both in terms of financial and time commitment.

### **Aims and outcomes**

The aims of this thesis are to identify the nature and interaction of internal factors influencing the business approaches adopted by convenience store owners from the Edinburgh Pakistani community. Conceptually these issues revolve around group characteristics, resource mobilisation, motivation and family and community role models, traditions and culture. If taken into account when developing private and public business support initiatives, the emerging understanding of the issues may make such schemes and packages appear more relevant to individual business owners, targeted to the needs of the sector, and increased uptake of assistance perceived as an investment of resources rather than a drain on finances; the outcome being enterprises better able to face the external changes in the trading environment, with the related benefits of both the financial security of the Edinburgh Pakistani micro-community and the ongoing provision of local, independent c-stores.

To summarise, the basic questions guiding the research are:

- What personal, individual and collective factors influence small and micro business activity?
- What factors shape Edinburgh Pakistani micro-community micro-retail, c-store start-up, business approach and continued involvement?
- How do these ranges of factors interact?
- What lessons can be learned by business support providers to overcome internal barriers to small business development?

### **Methodology and methods**

The individual, intangible nature of the factors under investigation suggests a need for a qualitative methodology in which each business owner's interpretation of the 'truth' of the situation is seen as valid and contributing to the overall understanding of the issues involved. Based within this postmodern constructivist paradigm, the methodology adopted is borrowed from the social sciences, adaptive grounded theory being seen as an appropriate way in which to link theory to empirical social research. This method of understanding the multi-layered themes at work in the situation being studied adopts an iterative, cyclical approach of deductive and inductive elements in the following groupings: deductive identification of the theoretical range of personal,

individual and collective factors influencing ethnic minority micro business activity; inductive exploration of empirical factors affecting Edinburgh Pakistani community members' micro-retail c-store business start-up and continued involvement; inductive examination of similarities and differences in these ranges of factors; deductive identification of theories underpinning the emerging nature of, and potential barriers to, Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store involvement; conceptualisation of the interdependent and interactive internal factors relevant to individual small business development within the Edinburgh ethnic minority community micro retail sector; and presentation of recommendations for public and private sector business support providers to facilitate and/or improve the design, targeting and uptake of appropriate assistance.

The research sample comprised 21 business owners – a theoretical sample to include c-stores located in a range of socio-demographic locations throughout the city and business owners from 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation c-store ownership and 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrants. Selection was by a snowball approach starting from introductions by gatekeepers to the community (Chamber of Commerce, Pakistani community leaders and business owners included in previous Queen Margaret University c-store research), and developing by further recommendation and supplemented by selection from Yellow Pages directories.

Semi structured, qualitative interviews obtained both objective information and discussed subjective topics emerging from the literature. Constant comparison analysis of interview notes and transcripts identified additional factors to be reviewed in the literature and included in subsequent interviews.

The key themes emerging from the analysis process were combined to produce an initial conceptual model of factors shaping Edinburgh Pakistani community c-store owners' trading approaches. These topics were further explored in the literature, together with relevant research findings published during the period of the study. The models emerging from this iterative process provided the base upon which to develop the final conceptual model of factors relevant to business approaches adopted by minority community micro-enterprise owners.

As in any qualitative research, issues arise of the validity and reliability of the conclusions drawn due to the potential for individual bias in data collection and analysis and the small size of the interview sample.

This research utilised a range of techniques to eliminate such issues, including member checks (when a sample of business owners were contacted to discuss the key topics and themes emerging from their conversation with the researcher, issues developed and any anomalies identified and resolved), peer review (when academic supervisors and fellow doctoral students independently analysed a sample of interview transcripts and compared emerging themes and topics with the initial findings), and follow-up visits to identify the extent to which business aims had progressed over the extended time scale of the study.

The extent of parallels between these approaches and the researcher's analysis gives credibility, dependability and confirmability to conclusions drawn from the research process.

It is important to note that sample size and the individual nature of the emerging key factors affecting business development places limits on the transferability of findings to a wider population. However, the social sciences adaptive grounded theory methodology and methods indicates and acknowledges that generic or key themes emerging can be applied on a wider basis if the importance and definition of the factors is taken into account, the academic and practical implications of this for business support providers being discussed in Section 8.3 below.

## **8.2 The findings**

### **Emerging themes**

This section summarises the findings emerging from the constant comparison analysis of the empirical fieldwork, and is presented to address the basic questions guiding the research.

- What personal, individual and collective factors influence small and micro business activity?

The principle issues emerging from the initial literature review form the theoretical model on which interview topics are based. These are: gender, age, education and



business experience, ethnic origin, family and community role models, motivational factors, perceptions of ethnic influences, definitions of business success, opportunity structures for start-up and continued sector involvement, changing aspirations within and for migrant and business owning generations, ethnic characteristics and influences, evolving personal and business strategies and options, and additional factors emerging during the data collection and analysis process (symbol group membership and generational issues) (see Figure 3.4).

- What factors shape Edinburgh Pakistani micro-community micro-retail, c-store start-up, business approach and continued involvement?

The key themes emerging from the empirical fieldwork form the initial step in answering the basic questions guiding the research and are identified as: individual motivation at business start-up, cultural influences, and changing aspirations. While present in all respondents, there are differences in the degree to which these factors are known and the impact on trading approaches is acknowledged.

The size and nature of the predominantly 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation migrant Edinburgh Pakistani community and its high level of 2<sup>nd</sup> generation involvement in the micro-retail c-store sector is shaped by the experience of 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants to other parts of the UK. In addition, the high level of social and economic embeddedness in the mainstream community impacts on the aspirations of and for subsequent generations, the ranging attitudes to cultural and religious influences, access to and utilisation of finance, and business strategies for future development.

While at a basic level there is the motivation for economic activity to provide for personal and family material needs, self-employment is chosen over working for others as providing the means for independence, longer term improved wealth and security, opportunities to achieve personal and family goals, aims and objectives, and the option to adhere to personal, community and religious standards in lifestyle and human and financial resource utilisation.

It is also important to note the wide variation in individual awareness and acknowledgement of the nature, extent and influence of the factors influencing both business start-up/entry and continued self employment in the c-store sector.

By superimposing these sets of themes and issues, it is proposed that the internal factors influencing Edinburgh Pakistani community convenience store owners' approaches to business development are as illustrated in Figure 7.1.

### **Conceptual model**

The adaptive grounded theory methodology to increasing understanding of issues allows new theory to develop by comparing emerging themes and insights with those already identified in similar settings – the development of a conceptual model to address the third question guiding the research:

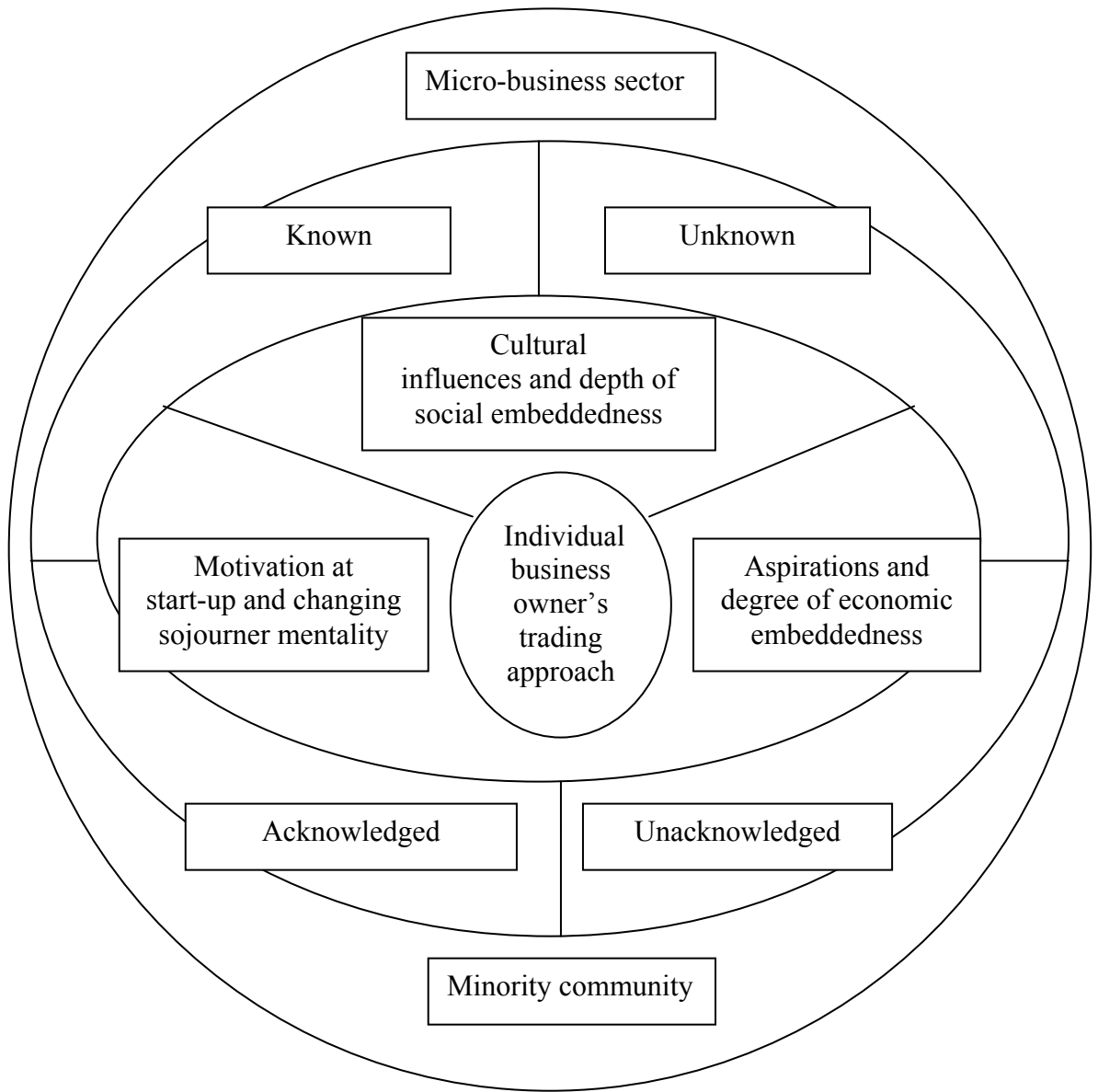
- How do these ranges of factors interact?

The second stage literature review to enhance understanding of these themes and identify newly published insights into wider ethnic minority and micro-enterprise issues suggests that trading approaches are influenced by individual values and perceptions, minority community influences, and changes to sojourner mentality related to the extent of economic and social embeddedness in the mainstream community (see Figure 6.1).

In accordance with the postmodern constructivist philosophical research paradigm within which this thesis is based, a conceptual model of factors influencing minority community micro-enterprise development combines these themes with, with those identified in other similar sectors of the UK population (Figure 7.2), thus making an addition to knowledge of the subject and meeting the aim of the research.

However, in order to achieve the desired outcome of a stronger, better supported convenience store sector, with the associated social and economic benefits to both business owners and local communities there is a need for both further academic understanding of the emerging key issues and practical implications for business support providers and designers.

By adding the insights and additions to knowledge gained from this further study and feedback from changes and developments in patterns of support and advice products and delivery, the final conceptual model for the development of minority community micro-enterprise support is presented in Figure 8.1.



**Figure 8.1: Conceptual model for development of minority community micro-enterprise support**

### **8.3 Recommendations**

#### **Further research**

It is important to recognise that the constructivist nature of the methodology adopted in the study limits the generalisability of the findings to a wider population. However this thesis contends that the factors identified as shaping trading approaches in the Edinburgh Pakistani owned convenience store sector are present to varying degrees in all minority community micro-enterprise owners in all sectors of the UK and Scottish economy.

Due to these limitations it is recommended that further empirical research is conducted to identify the relative importance and nature of these factors in other minority communities and sectors, both in Scotland, the UK and on a wider geographical spread.

In addition, examining the historic pattern of micro-retail start-up among succeeding waves of migrants to the UK and the continual process of minority community mixed embeddedness with local mainstream communities will enable projections to be made of future ethnic groups' involvement in the sector. This will, in turn, allow business support providers to predict potential issues shaping individual trading approaches and barriers to external assistance.

### **Business support providers**

While the preceding academic discussion and research is valuable in its own right, the impetus for the study arose from an awareness of the need for appropriate, targeted, relevant business support for a sector under threat from a range of rapidly changing external factors in the business practice environment. Indeed, the interrelated factors are not simply ethnic minority or micro-retailing issues, but generic small business enterprise issues.

The final question driving the research addresses the practical implications emerging from the conceptual understandings gained from the primary and secondary phases of the study:

- What lessons can be learned by business support providers to overcome internal barriers to small business development?

As discussed in Section 4.5, there was very little awareness of the nature and availability of business support among the research sample. Additionally, the general perception was that such help and advice was (or would be) tied up in bureaucracy; of limited relevance and use; difficult to identify and access; not at a relevant level or time scale; costly in time, finance, resources and independence; and may interfere in personal preferred business approaches.

In order to address these barriers to accessing business support, with the related outcome of improving enterprise opportunities, it is recommended that business

support providers develop and market products and services targeted to specific sectors of enterprises and ownership.

There is a need to change the focus of support from generic to sector, ownership ethnicity and location specific products and information.

Trust must be developed between business owners and support providers in order to overcome fears of interference and reduced independence – this being possible through building personal longer-term relationships, clear oral and written communication, and an awareness of cultural and religious factors affecting business activity.

Unnecessary bureaucracy should be removed and potential time commitments of taking courses or attending meetings being translated into individual, business premises based coaching and mentoring.

In particular, it is recommended that importance is placed not simply on the economic aspects of supporting business owners, but that equal or greater focus is given to raising individual micro-enterprise owners' awareness of the internal issues shaping their decision making and the extent of impact these factors have on trading approaches developed.

#### **8.4 Final comment**

This thesis opened with a reference to Britain being described as a nation of shopkeepers and, from the research presented, it appears that this is still the case. In the UK of the twenty-first century there is still a social and economic place for small, independent shops and convenience stores. However, for this self-employment option to continue to provide the related social and economic benefits to both business owners and communities, business support providers (both private and public sector) must not be complacent.

The vibrant nature of more established minority communities in the UK is increasingly less driven by traditional factors of opportunity structures and group characteristics. Instead, key factors in micro business involvement are changing aspirations for and between generations, linked to the degree of social and economic embeddedness in the local mainstream community.

Added to this are the varying degrees of individual adherence to cultural and religious traditions and demands, a changing sojourner mentality over time of residence in the UK, and motivation for self-employment and new business start-up within new waves of social and economic migrant groups – this latter factor being increasingly affected by changing attitudes and political policy at both British and European levels.

The diverse and dynamic nature of the multifaceted factors incorporated in Figure 8.1 implies that a ‘one size fits all’ approach to business support is inappropriate. Taking the interactions of factors emerging from this research into issues shaping the continued involvement of Edinburgh Pakistani community convenience store owners in the sector and micro retail activity as a basis for further academic study of a wide range of minority communities and business sectors will not, in itself, address all the problems.

External business environments will continue to change, creating new threats and opportunities for start-up and continued involvement in micro-enterprises. However, the increased understanding of the nature and extent of the internal barriers to business development (an individual combination of motivation for self-employment, personal and family aspirations, cultural and community traditions and values, and the degree of social and economic embeddedness with the mainstream community) will assist business support providers to gain access to particular sectors and communities under economic threat with support that is perceived as appropriate, relevant and both time and cost effective. By effective communication and appropriate intervention, the awareness of business owners of the role of personal, cultural and changing embeddedness in the mainstream community on trading approaches will be enhanced, thus placing individual c-store owners to move from reactive to proactive responses to future challenges.

The outcome of such an approach will be a stronger, well-supported, micro-enterprise retail sector well-placed to survive the threats from changes in the external trading environment, with the related social benefits for local communities and a more secure economic future for the minority communities highly dependent on survival and success in such service industry sectors.

## REFERENCES

- Abdullah, F. 2005. *Learning methods of owner/managers in small businesses: exploring the contribution of ethnic background, tacit knowledge and networking towards learning*. PhD Thesis. Edinburgh: Queen Margaret University.
- Abdullah, F., Ingram, A. and Welsh, R. 2009. Managers' Perceptions of Tacit Knowledge in Edinburgh's Indian Restaurants. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 21 (3).
- Agger, B. 1991. Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17 pp 105-131.
- Akram, A. (Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce and Enterprise Ethnic Enterprise Centre). 2001. Conversation about Edinburgh ethnic minority business background.
- Aldrich, H. and Waldinger, R. 1990. Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 16 pp 111-135.
- Aldrich, H., Jones, T. and McEvoy, D. 1984. Ethnic advantage and minority business development. ch 11 pp189 - 210 in Ward, R. and Jenkins, R. (eds) *Ethnic communities in business*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Altinay, L. 2008. the relationship between an entrepreneur's culture and the entrepreneurial behaviour of the firm. *Journal of Small business and Enterprise Development*, 15 (1) pp 111 – 129.
- Altinay, L. and Altinay, E. 2008. Factors influencing business growth: the rise of Turkish entrepreneurship in the UK. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 14 (1) pp 24 – 4.
- Anderson, A., Drakopoulou-Dodd, S. and Scott, M. 2000. Religion as an environmental influence on enterprise culture. The case of Britain in the 1980s. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour*, 6 (1) pp 5 - 20.
- Appleton, J. 1995. Analysing qualitative interview data: addressing issues of validity and reliability. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 22 pp 993 - 997.
- Baines, S. and Wheelock, J. 1998. Working for each other: gender, the household and micro-business survival and growth. *International Small Business Journal*, 17 (1) pp16 - 35.
- Bank of England 1999. *The Financing of Ethnic Minority Firms in the United Kingdom*. London: Bank of England.
- Bank of England 2000. *Finance for Small Firms. A seventh report*. London: Bank of England.

- Bagwell, S. 2008. Transnational family networks and ethnic minority business development. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 14 (6) pp 377 – 394.
- Baron, S., Harris, K., Leaver, D. and Oldfield, B. 2001. Beyond convenience: the future for independent food and grocery retailers in the UK. *International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research*, 11 (4) pp 395 – 414.
- Barrett, G., Jones, T. and McEvoy, D. 2001. Socio-economic and policy dimensions of the mixed embeddedness of ethnic minority business in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27 (2) pp 241 - 258.
- Barrett, G., Jones, T., McEvoy, D. and McGoldrick, C. 2002. The economic embeddedness of immigrant enterprises in Britain. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 8 (1/2) pp 11 – 31.
- Basu, A. 2004. Entrepreneurial aspirations among family business owners. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 10 (1/2) pp 12 – 33.
- Basu, A. and Goswami, A. 1999. South Asian entrepreneurship in Great Britain: factors influencing growth. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 5 (5) pp 251 - 275.
- Beaver, G. and Jennings, P. 2005. Competitive advantage and entrepreneurial power. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 12 (1) pp 9 – 23.
- Bent, R., Lamb, L., Seaman, C. and Welsh, R. 2006. Public Sector Business Support – engaging the ethnic business. In: *EIRASS Conference* p 21, July 9 – 12, Budapest. Den Haag: EIRASS.
- Bent, R., Seaman, C. and Ingram, A. 1999. Staff motivation in small food manufacturing enterprises. *British Food Journal*, 101 (9) pp 654 - 667.
- Bent, R., Seaman, C., Wallace, A. and Kerr, J. 1999. Convenience stores and the ethnic retailer. In: *Networking conference 99 an ethnic perspective*. Edinburgh.
- Bolton, J. 1971. *Small Firms. Report of the Committee of Inquiry on Small Firms*; London: HMSO.
- Bradley, J. 2008. Family-run businesses create 30% of UK GDP. *The Scotsman*, 5 February.
- Bridge, S., O'Neill, K. and Cromie, S. 1998. *Understanding enterprise, entrepreneurship & small business*. London: Macmillan Press.
- British Bankers' Association 2002. *Ethnic Minority businesses in the UK: Access to Finance and Business Support*. London: BBA



Brockhaus, R. 1982. The psychology of the entrepreneur. ch iii in Kent, C., Sexton, D. and Vesper, K. (eds) *Encyclopaedia of Entrepreneurship*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Bryman, A. 1988. *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. London: Routledge.

Byrom, J., Harris, J. and Parker, C. 2000. Training the independent retailer: an audit of training needs, materials and systems. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 24 (7) pp 366 – 373.

Byrom, J., Parker, C. and Harris, J. 2002. Towards a healthy high street: identifying skills needs in small independent retailers. *Education and Training*, 44 (8/9) pp 413 - 420.

Chaudhry, S. and Crick, D. 2003. Small Asian-owned retail businesses in the UK: an exploratory investigation. *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, 21/6 pp 346 – 356.

Chaudhry, S. and Crick, D. 2004. Understanding practices at the ‘ethnic’ marketing/entrepreneurship interface: a case study of Kirit Pathak. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 7 (3) pp 183 – 193.

Chell, E., Haworth, J. and Brearly, S. 1991. *The Entrepreneurial Personality*. London: Routledge.

Creswell, J. 1998. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design – choosing among five traditions*. London: SAGE.

Crick, D. and Chaudhry, S. 2000. UK SMEs awareness, use, and perceptions of selected government export assistance – An investigation into the effect of ethnicity. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, 6 (2) pp 72 - 89.

Culkin, N. and Smith, D. 2000. An emotional business: a guide to understanding the motivations of small business decision makers. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 3 (3) pp 145 - 157.

Curran, J. and Stanworth, J. 1982. Bolton ten years on – a research inventory and critical review. section 1 pp3-27 in Stanworth, J., Westrip, A., Watkins, D. and Lewis, J. (eds). *Perspectives on a Decade of Small Business Research*. Aldershot: Gower.

Dalton, M. and Hampton, K. 1994. *Scotland's Ethnic Minority Population 1991: A Census Summary*. Glasgow: Scottish Ethnic Minorities Research Unit (SEMRU).

Dassler, T., Seaman, C., Bent, R., Lamb, L. and Meter, N. 2007. Composing a database of minority enterprises in Scotland. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 13 (2) 107 – 123.

- Deakins, D. 1999. *Entrepreneurship and Small Firms* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed); London: McGraw-Hill.
- Deakins, D., Ishaq, M., Smallbone, D., Whittam, G. and Wyper, J. 2005. *Minority Ethnic Enterprises in Scotland: A National Scoping Study*; Edinburgh: The Scottish Government Publications.
- Deakins, D., Majmudar, M. and Paddison, A 1997. Developing success strategies for ethnic minorities in business: evidence from Scotland. *new community*, 23 (3) pp 325 - 342.
- Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) 2003. *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). London: SAGE.
- Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) 2000. *Labour Market and Skill Trends*. London: HMSO.
- Dhaliwal, S. 2000. Entrepreneurship – a learning process; the experiences of Asian female entrepreneurs and women in business. *Education and Training*, 42 (8) pp 445 - 452.
- Dhaliwal, S. 2008. *Making a Fortune – Learning from the Asian Phenomenon*. London: Capstone
- Dhaliwal, S. and Adcroft, A. 2005. Sustainability and ethnic minority businesses: an examination of the Asian business sector in the UK. *Journal of Asian Entrepreneurship and Sustainability*, 1 (1)
- Dhaliwal, S. and Gray, D. 2008. The Asian business sector and the dynamics of change. *Equal Opportunities International*, 27 (3) pp 221 – 236.
- Dhaliwal, S. and Kangis, P. 2006. Asians in the UK: gender, generations and enterprise. *Equal Opportunities International*, 25 (2) pp 92 – 108.
- Dyer, L. and Ross, C. 2000. Ethnic Enterprises and their Clientele. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 38 (2) pp 48 - 66.
- Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce and Enterprise Ethnic Enterprise Centre (ECCEEC). 1997. *Ethnic Origin Breakdown* Unpublished report.
- Eisenhardt, K. 1991. Better stories and better constructs: the case for rigor and comparative logic. *Academy of Management Review*, 16 (3) pp 620 – 627.
- Emslie, L. and Bent, R. 2007. Public sector business support providers: marketing business support to the ethnic business sector. *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, 25 (5) pp 460 – 482.

- Ethnic Minority Business Initiative (EMBI). 1992. *Assisting Ethnic Minority Businesses*. Home Office: London.
- Fadahunsi, A., Smallbone, D. and Supri, S. 2000. Networking and ethnic minority enterprise development: Insights from a North London study. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 7 (3) pp 228 - 240.
- Fitch, D. 2004. Measuring convenience: Scots' perceptions of local food and retail provision. *International Journal of Retail Distribution and Management*, 32 (2) pp 100 - 108.
- Fox, M., Nilakant, V. and Hamilton, R. 1996. Managing succession in family-owned businesses. *International Small Business Journal*, 15 (1) pp 15 - 25.
- Gidoomal, R. 1997. *the UK maharajahs*. London: Nicholas Brealey.
- Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. New York: Aldine.
- Goffee, R. 1996. Understanding family businesses: issues for further research. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 2 (1) pp 36 - 48.
- Greenbank, P. 2000. 'Micro-business start-ups: challenging normative decision making? *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, 18 (4) pp 206 – 212.
- Greenbank, P. 2001. Objective setting in the micro-business. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 7 (3) pp 108 – 127.
- Greene, P. 1997. Resource-Based Approach to Ethnic business Sponsorship: A Consideration of Ismaili-Pakistani Immigrants. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 35 (4) pp 58 - 71.
- Guba, E. and Lincoln, Y. 1998. Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*. London: SAGE.
- Guy, V. 1999. Damned truths and statistics: combining qualitative and quantitative approaches in organisational research. *Organisations and People*, 6 (4) pp 9 - 15.
- Hameed, M. (Edinburgh City Council Ethnic Minority Equalities Unit). 2001. Conversation to establish Edinburgh ethnic minority community background.
- Haralambos, M. and Holborn, M. 2000. *Sociology themes and perspectives* (5<sup>th</sup> ed). London: HarperCollins.
- Hill, J. and McGowan, P. 1999. Small business and enterprise development: questions about research methodology. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 5 (1) pp 5 - 18.

Hinnells, J. 1997. *The New Penguin Handbook of Living Religions*. London: Penguin.

Home Office. 2008. *Work permit and immigration regulations* [online]. Available from <[www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/](http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/)> [accessed 12 April 2008].

Hussain, J. and Matlay, H. 2007. Financing preferences of ethnic minority owner/managers in the UK. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 14 (3) pp 487 – 500.

Hussain, J., Matlay, H. and Scott, J. 2008. Financial education in small ethnic minority businesses in the UK. *Education + Training*, 50 (8/9) pp 737 – 747.

Ibrahim, A., McGuire, J., Soufani, K. and Poutziouris, P. 2004. Patterns in strategy formation in a family firm. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 10 (1/2) pp 127 – 140.

IFB. 2008. *The UK Family Business Sector*. London: Institute for Family Business.

Ingram, A., Seaman, C., Unis, A. and Bent, R. 2005. *Succession planning within ethnic minority family owned firms: implications for policy makers*. Research paper no. 2, Scottish Centre for Enterprise and Ethnic Business Research. Edinburgh: QMU. Unpublished.

Ip, B. and Jacobs, G. 2006. Business succession planning: a review of the evidence. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 13 (3) pp 326 – 350.

Janjuha-Jivraj, S. and Woods, A. 2002. Succession Issues Within Asian Family Firms – learning from the Kenyan experience. *International Small Business Journal*, 20 (1) pp 77 - 94.

Jenkins, R. 1984. Ethnic minorities in business: a research agenda. In: Ward, R. and Jenkins, R. (eds) ch 13 pp 231-238. *Ethnic communities in business*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, T., McEvoy, D. and Barrett, G. 1994. Raising capital for the ethnic minority small firm. In: Hughes, A. and Storey, D. (eds) ch 5 pp 145 - 181. *Finance and the Small Firm*. London: Routledge.

Khan, G. 1988. Size and growth of Asian-owned incorporated companies in Britain. *International Small Business Journal*, 7 (1) pp 10 - 28.

Khan, S. (Pakistani Society). 2001. Conversation to establish Edinburgh Pakistani community and business background.

Kirby, D. 1986. The small retailer. In: Curran, J., Stanworth, J. and Watkins, D. (eds) ch 9 pp 162-179. *The survival of the small firm 1 – the economics of survival and entrepreneurship*. Aldershot: Gower.

- Kirkwood, J. 2007. Igniting the entrepreneurial spirit: is the role parents play gendered? *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 13 (1) pp 39 – 59.
- Lange, T., Ottens, M. and Taylor, A. 2000. SMEs and barriers to skills development: a Scottish perspective. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 24 (1) pp 5 - 11.
- Lauder, D., Boocock, G. and Presley, J. 1994. The system of support for SMEs in the UK and Germany. *European Business Review*, 94 (1) pp 9 - 16.
- Layder, D. 1993. *New strategies in social research*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Layder, D. 1998. *Sociological Practice – linking theory and social research*. London: SAGE.
- Lincoln, Y. and Guba, E. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. London: SAGE.
- Lincoln, Y. and Guba, E. 2003. Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds). *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). London: SAGE.
- Londis. 2003. *About Londis*. [online] <<http://www.londis.co.uk>> [Accessed 27 August 2003].
- Lynch, P. 2000. Networking in the homestay sector. *The Service Industries Journal*, 20 (3) pp 95 -116.
- Mars, G. and Ward, R. 1984. Ethnic business development in Britain: opportunities and resources. In: Ward, R. and Jenkins, R. (eds) ch 1 pp 1 - 19. *Ethnic communities in business*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. 1995. *Designing Qualitative Research* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). London: SAGE.
- Matlay, H. 1999. Employee relations in small firms A micro-enterprise perspective. *Employee Relations*, 21 (3) pp 285 - 295.
- Mazzarol, T., Volery, T., Doss, N. and Thein, V. 1999. Factors influencing small business start-ups. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 5 (2) pp 48 – 63.
- McEvoy, D. and Aldrich, H. 1986. Survival rates of Asian and white retailers. *International Small Business Journal*, 4 (3) pp 28 – 37.
- McPherson, M. 2008. HRM practices and systems within south-Asian small businesses. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 14 (6) pp 414 – 439.

Miles, M. and Huberman, A. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). London: SAGE.

Morris, M., Williams, R. and Nel, D. 1996. Factors influencing family business succession. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 2 (3) pp 68 – 81.

Mullins, L. 1996. *Management and Organisational Behaviour* (4<sup>th</sup> ed). London: Pitman.

Nicholson, N. 2005. Family ties – binding or breaking? *Families in business*, Mar/April p 80.

Oc, T. and Tiesdell, S. 1998. Training and business support for ethnic minority groups in city challenge areas. *Local Economy*, May pp 71 - 77.

O'Donnell, A. and Cummins, D. 1999. The use of qualitative methods to research networking in SMEs. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 2 (2) pp 82 – 91.

O'Dwyer, M. and Ryan, E. 2000. Management development issues for owners/managers of micro-enterprises. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 24 (6) pp 345 – 353.

Office for National Statistics. 2001. *Count me in – Census 2001*. [online] <[www.statistics.gov.uk](http://www.statistics.gov.uk)> [accessed 24/01/01].

ONS. 2008. *UK Business Statistics* [online]. <[www.statistics.gov.uk](http://www.statistics.gov.uk)> [accessed 8 April 2008].

Ogbonna, E. and Noon, M. 1999. A new deal or a new disadvantage? British ethnic minorities and Government training. *International Journal of Manpower*, 20 (3/4) pp165 – 179.

Okonta, P. and Pandya, K. 2007. Entrepreneurial potentials of the African-Caribbeans in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 14 (4) pp 702 – 718.

Osborne, R. 1995. The essence of entrepreneurial success. *Management Decision*, 33 (7) pp 4 – 9.

Paddison, A., Fahad, G. and Barn, S. c1999. *Marketing support organisations to ethnic minority firms*. Department of Marketing, University of Stirling. Unpublished.

- Perren, L. and Ram, M. 2001. Case-study method in small business and entrepreneurial research: mapping boundaries and perspectives. In: 24<sup>th</sup> ISBA National Small Firms Conference. Leicester. London: ISBA.
- Phizacklea, A. and Ram, M. 1995. Ethnic entrepreneurship in comparative perspective. *International Journal of entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 1 (1) pp 48 - 58.
- Poutziouris, P., Steier, L. and Smyrinos, K. 2004. A commentary on family business entrepreneurial developments. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 10 (1/2) pp 7 – 11.
- Rafiq, M. 1992. A comparison of Muslim and non-Muslim owned Asian businesses in Britain. *new community*, 19 (1) pp 43 – 60.
- Ram, M. 1994. Unravelling Social Networks in Ethnic Minority Firms. *International Small Business Journal*, 12 (3) pp 42 – 53.
- Ram, M. 1997. Ethnic minority enterprise: an overview and research agenda. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 3 (4) pp 149 – 156.
- Ram, M., Abbas, T., Sanghera, B. and Hillin, G. 2000. “Currying favour with the locals”: Balti owners and business enclaves. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 6 (1) pp 41 – 55.
- Ram, M., Ford, M. and Hillin, G. 1997. Ethnic minorities in business. In: Deakins, D., Jennings, P. and Mason, C. (eds) ch 8 pp 89 - 100. *Small Firms Entrepreneurship in the nineties*. London: Paul Chapman.
- Ram, M., Sanghera, K., Khan, D. and Abbas, T. 1999. Ethnic matching in enterprise support: the process in action. *Journal of Small business and Enterprise Development*, 6(1) pp 26 – 36.
- Riege, A. 2003. Validity and reliability tests in case study research: a literature review with “hands-on” applications for each research phase. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 6 (2) pp 75 – 86.
- Rusinovic, K. 2008. Moving between markets? Immigrant entrepreneurs in different markets. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 14 (6) pp 440 – 454.
- Ryan, G. and Bernard, H. 2000. Data management and analysis methods. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) ch 29 pp 769 - 802. *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). London: SAGE.

Schwandt, T. 1998. Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*. London: SAGE.

Scott, D. 1999. Do you need to be creative to start a successful business?. *Management Research News*, 22 (9) pp 26 – 41.

Scottish Executive Central Research Unit. 2001. *Researching Ethnic Minorities in Scotland*. Edinburgh Conference. 2 March 2000. Edinburgh: HMSO.

Scottish Executive. 2004. *Analysis of ethnicity in the 2001 census*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Seale, C. 1999. *The quality of qualitative research*. London: SAGE.

Seaman, C., Bent, R., Ingram, A., Welsh, R. and Mederos, A. 2005. Fissures in the marketing strategies of South Asian restaurants in Edinburgh. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 29 (3) pp 193 -199.

Seaman, C., Graham, S., Falconer, P. and Stepek, M. 2007. Exploring Scottish Family Businesses: Economy, Geography and Community. In: *ISBE Conference*. November 7-9 2007. Glasgow. London: ISBE.

Shaw, E. 1997. New start, growth and development. In: Deakins, D., Jennings, P. and Mason, C. (eds) Ch 2 pp 7 - 17. *Small Firms Entrepreneurship in the nineties*. London: Paul Chapman.

Shaw, E. 1999. A guide to the qualitative research process: evidence from a small firm study. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 2 (2) pp 59 – 70.

Silverman, D. 1993. *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*. London: SAGE.

Silverman, D. 2000 Analyzing talk and text. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed) ch 31 pp 821 – 834. London: SAGE.

Small Business Gateway. 2001. *Data base of Edinburgh conveniences stores and newsagents*. Unpublished.

Smallbone, D., Bertolli, M. and Ekanem, I. 2005. Diversification in ethnic minority business. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 12 (1) pp 41 – 56.

Smith, A. and Sparks, L. 1997. *Retailing and Small Shops*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Office Central Research Unit.

Smith, A. and Sparks, L. 1998. *Independent retailers and small shops: issues, problems and suggestions – evidence from Scotland*. University of Stirling research paper 9702. Unpublished.



Smith, A. and Sparks, L. 2000. The role and function of the independent small shop: the situation in Scotland. *International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research*, 10 (2) pp 205 – 226.

SouthAsiaNet. 2007. *Social Dynamics of Pakistani Community in Britain*. [online] <<http://pips.com.pk/san/pakistan/april07/Dynamics.html>> [accessed 30/04/2007].

SPAR. 2003. *SPAR UK*. [online] <<http://www.spar.co.uk>> [Accessed 27 August 2003]

Sparrow, J. 1999. Using qualitative research to establish SME support needs. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 2 (2) pp 121 – 134.

Spence, L. and Rutherford, R. 2001. Social responsibility, profit maximisation and the small firm owner-manager. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 8 (2) pp 126 – 139.

Stanworth, J., Stanworth, C., Granger, B. and Blyth, S. 1989. Who becomes an entrepreneur? *International Small Business Journal*, 8 (1) pp 11 – 22.

Stenbacka, C. 2001. Qualitative research requires quality concepts of its own. *Management Decision*, 39 (7) pp 551 – 555.

Storey, D. 1994. *Understanding the small business sector*. London: Routledge.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. 1990. *Basics of qualitative research – grounded theory procedures and techniques*. London: SAGE.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. 1998. *Basics of Qualitative Research – techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. London: SAGE.

Tayeb, M. 1997. Islamic revival in Asia and human resource management. *Employee Relations*, 19 (4) pp 352 – 364.

Tietjen, M. and Myers, R. 1998. Motivation and job satisfaction. *Management Decision*, 36 (4) pp 226 – 231.

Uddin, W. (Bangladesh community representative and business owner). 2001. Conversation to establish Edinburgh Bangladeshi community business background.

Unis, S. (Pakistani small business owner and convenience store supplier). 2001. Conversation to identify Edinburgh Pakistani community small business background and location.

Unis, A. and Ingram, I. 2003. *Succession planning within ethnic minority family owned firms: an Edinburgh perspective*. QMU research paper. Unpublished.

Van Gelderen, M. and Jansen, P. 2006. Autonomy as a start-up motive. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development*, 13 (1) pp 23 – 32.

Vidich, A. and Lyman, S. 2000. Qualitative methods, their history in sociology and anthropology. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) ch 2 pp 37 - 84. *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). London: SAGE.

Waldiner, R. 1995. The other side of embeddedness. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 18 (3) pp 555 – 580.

Waldinger, R., Aldrich, H. and Ward, R. 1990. Opportunities, Group Characteristics, and Strategies. In: Waldinger, R., Aldrich, H. and Ward, R. ch 1 pp 13 - 48. *Ethnic Entrepreneurs*. London: SAGE.

Wallace, A. 1999. *C-store retailing and the British South-Asian retailer: a pilot study of the Edinburgh South Asian C-store retailer*. BA(Hons). QMUC.

Wallace, A. (Edinburgh Pakistani community business researcher). 2001. Conversation to discuss issues of access, location of convenience store sector and previous field work experiences.

Watson, K., Hogarth-Scott, S. and Wilson, N. 1998. Small business start-ups: success factors and support implications. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 4 (3) pp 217 – 238.

Weitzman, E. 2000. Software and qualitative research. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds) ch 30 pp 803 - 820. *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). London: SAGE.

Welsh, R. and Abdullah, F. 2002. South Asian small business owner/managers in Edinburgh: issues of ethnicity in small business development potential. In: 25<sup>th</sup> ISBA National Small Firms Conference, pp 1625 – 1631, 13-15 November, Brighton. London: ISBA.

Welsh, R., Bent, R., Seaman, C. and Ingram, A. 2003. The challenge to c-stores: Edinburgh South Asian Responses. *International Journal of Retail Distribution and Management*, 31 (8) pp 408 – 17.

Welsh R., Seaman, C., Bent, R. and Lamb, L. 2006. Minority Ethnic Business in Edinburgh – Micro-Retailing Research and the Development of a Framework for Business Support Systems. In: *EIRASS Conference* p 235, July 9 – 12, Budapest. Den Haag: EIRASS

Whetten, D. 1989. What constitutes a theoretical contribution? *Academy of Management Review*, 14 (4) pp 490 – 495.

## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix 1: Sample transcript: Interview 11**

### **Appendix 2: Sample initial analysis: Interview 11**

### **Appendix 3: Thumbnail sketches of final research sample**

### **Appendix 4: Summary of findings for interview topics.**

Table A 4.1 Topic 1 Personal background – summary by interview

Table A 4.2.1 Topic 2 Business background – summary by interview part 1

Table A 4.2.2 Topic 2 business background – summary by interview part 2

Table A 4.3.1 Topic 3 Motivation – summary by interview part 1

Table A 4.3.2 Topic 3 Motivation – summary by interview part 2

Table A 4.4.1 Topic 4 Individual perceptions – summary by interview part 1

Table A 4.4.2 Topic 4 Individual perceptions – summary by interview part 2

Table A 4.5.1 Topic 5 Ethnic strategies – summary by interview part 1

Table A 4.5.2 Topic 5 Ethnic strategies – summary by interview part 2

Table A 4.6 Topic +1 Generational issues – summary by interview

Table A 4.7 Topic +1 Attitude to symbol group – summary by interview

Table A 4.8 Follow-up visit – summary by interview

### **Appendix 5: Publications.**



## Appendix 1: Sample transcript: Interview 11

Note: the line numbers below do not correspond exactly to those given in Chapters 4: Fieldwork Findings and 5: Emerging Themes due to differing page set-up of the original transcript and this copy.

### 11 Mr Chaudry, Happy Valley Superstore, 22 May 2002

Met at shop – tour and brief conversation – drove to house for interview – time limited by need to let son have car for hospital visit – offer to return for longer conversation and to contact son for separate interview at later date.

R If you have nay questions about the shop or anything just ask me and then we go there for ten, twenty minutes, sit down and I'll tell you every single question you ask me.

10 I Thank you. So it was two shops, was it like that when you came in?

R It was like that when we came in. It used to be two doors there. One door in and here out. And I'll explain you later on why

I Why you changed, yes.

R I though you would ask me that question. I have fresh icecream. I have a licence for that (oh yes ahha). It is a licensed trade, as you know (yes) you have to have a licence (yes) and I have a licence for that. That's my son, number one (hello, please to meet you). This is Rita Welsh here for the interview. At the moment he's in charge, but I'll explain you later on. I'll let her see around then I'll take her home and we can sit down and have all the questions, you know.

20 [turn off tape while father and son briefly look at letter and discuss arrangements for later in the day]

R There now, no more interruptions.

I There are always interruptions. so you've got Walls.

R We've got Walls and we've got loose icecream license. also newsagents now.  
25 Also lottery and.

I Have you always had the newsagent side of it?

R No, I'll explain you later on. Have a look around then you will be most welcome to sit down and ask me all the questions in the house. but you must have a look around. (Yes obviously). any questions just make a note and you can ask me.

30 I So you sell pretty well everything.

R Almost everything and household as well. We have a separate section of supplies you know. People always need these things, normal wear and tear type, you know People always want things, babies dummies, that and that [indicating bottle openers, cake candles, dummies etc].

- 35 I Babies dummies are always useful things to carry. I had my grandchildren staying over night and the one year old lost her mummy (oh no no). And I thought 'ohno'. Mum and dad were away to a wedding and I couldn't get hold of them.
- R We are looking after our grandchildren, only nine months old, mum away in the hospital. Yesterday she had the operation (oh yes). That's what I said, so many
- 40 things happen, I have a very tight schedule this week. But I still prefer maybe you have no time next time. That's it, you know what I mean.
- I I really appreciate it. When you look after the little ones you find all the things you thought you had
- R We've been looking after her a couple of days. The first night she slept with
- 45 us she was quite happy. Only once or twice she don't want to sleep in the cot, she wanted to sleep in the bed with us. Mummy not there (you can understand that). One more thing you might want to see, is the light on then come in here.
- I Your back shop.
- [go in to very small office area and take down old framed paper cutting from wall of
- 50 article when 'shop of the month' in 1981- discussion of other Asian shop award winners a few years later - proud of award and promise to show me something else he is proud of]
- R The shop itself is exactly the same downstairs, quite a big shop (you've got a big shop downstairs as well, that's). but the public have no access.
- 55 I No, it's just stock room. Some [places I've been to have no stock room at all and it's very difficult.
- R Have a good look and any questions you have about the shop please ask me now.
- I So you altered the layout but you'll tell me why (yes I altered the layout) but
- 60 when did you last do any upgrading or alterations in here?
- R Good question. When did we last do this? [asking son and indicating ceiling – son replies 'last Tuesday] that's why there is no room in the office they left things here still [it's not finished they are coming to paint round the walls yet].
- 65 [Leave to go to house – as pull in to drive says 'welcome to my dream home' – large detached house in big, well laid out and maintained garden with views across city - shows off garden – youngest son almost 21 was born in this house – welcomed inside, shown into front room and invited to relax – goes to speak with wife and get paper cutting from back of car – read cutting giving details of 'shop of the month'
- 70 and approach to business adopted (see notes)]
- I So I gather you came to Manchester in 1962. What made you come to the UK at all?
- R Actually we are refugee from India to Pakistan. My members of the family
- 75 had property there, property owner, and we were forced like happens to Muslim all over the world, today obviously like Palestine (yes). I'm not saying who's right, who's wrong (no) but that's it (that's it, yes). But we are, er, refugee from India to Pakistan and my family always been. Chaudry means landlord (ahha). Of course it is a common name but our name means lord, you know, landlord, the people who own
- 80 lots of the land and businesses plus land. But land is more important than the businesses for our culture. My parents used to be quite well off but when we were kicked out from India from there religious rivals then we went to Pakistan, Lahore

(uhum) and er, we were looking for something to feed our family. So there were two reasons behind it – first thing is to get the education and to be supported to get them bread. That made me go anywhere in the world so I chose the UK.

85 I You thought there were good opportunities.

R I was very young.

I What age were you, if you don't mind me asking?

R I was 22. 22 is very young to have responsibility.

90 I Yes it is, as you say you have to do something. So were you qualified as an electrician?

R I was qualified as electrician, yes (over in) in Lahore.

I And you came to Manchester (yes). Why did you head to Manchester?

R In a matter of fact to get the education. The first thing to do is to manage to

95 get the education. When somebody is educated there is always more chance of getting work than the uneducated one (yes). Which I believe strongly (uhum). Why Manchester? Well I used to work for Burma oil company, Burma Shell, same company we have here Shell (yes). Once after I got the qualification I got a job there and I went to Bradford University (ahha) to do more study. Unfortunately then my

100 dad died (ahha). I was the eldest and I finished my career in education and tried to find a job.

I Had all your family come across as well, you know when you came?

R It was only me came but I was engaged before I come over here and my wife came after a few years and we were married here.

105 I And you were still down in Manchester?

R Yes and I found my first job in a, er, in a mill, a cotton mill (ahha). But the job was so dirty and in those days, I can't say, I've never been harassed, it's never happened today but I'll not say it's never happened, you know. But in those days if people saw somebody coloured, of course I'm not very black or anything (uhum)

110 most people think I an one of these European or something, you know, something white. But, erm, they didn't give us good jobs. Either maybe we, I believe we didn't have up to the standard or qualified to do the job. So they gave me very dirty job (uhum) so I gave it up and applied to the buses (yes) the local buses. Anyway I had interviews and tests, very, very hard tests in those days. Not only be able to speak

115 English but you had to be able to write it and read it, you know (um). Of course for the buses in case of accidents somebody who could read and write for reports. They gave me the job (uhum) so I done that for 12 or 13 years. Then, I don't know, maybe something in my gene because my whole family is still, the rest of the family in Pakistan they are all in businesses. And I saved some money to buy a house and I

120 was looking for a business and I found the shop in Edinburgh and we came.

I And did you know people in Edinburgh?

R No. Nobody else. Nothing at all. Self made man.

I And how did you go about building your business?

R First of all it's the confidence of having the ability. If I decided, I'm that kind

125 of person, if I've decided something, I go for it. If I can't do anything I think before I start it and end up saying if I can't do it, I'm never doing it. Because I had no friends, no family, anybody to help me, I knew if I don't work hard (uhum) then I will never do it.

[wife comes in with refreshments – introduced – talk about baby sitting etc]

- 130 So I decided if I don't work hard now I will never make it. So it is hard work, confidence, seven days a week, 12 or 14 hours a day. At the end of the day it paid off (uhum).
- I So then you moved on to the premises?
- 135 R Not just the end of the story (oh). I had two or three more shops. One time I had, er, one, two, three, I had three shops at the time. Then I noticed to run three shops you need stock, you need staff, I had 10 people working for me at that time in the three. But they were not honest. They were helping themselves (uhum) behind my back (yes). So I decided to go alone. I just did not trust it so I decided to do something different. I had worked at least five years. The work was so hard. No time for families. No house time or family or anything you can call it, none of this.
- 140 And also I had difficulty getting loans (uhum). The banks are very, used to be, maybe still, I don't know, used to be very, very bad for foreigners like me. Two or three banks refused to help me (uhum). They weren't wanting to know (yes). So I decided just to have the one shop. Then I decided to change my mind and branch into something else. 23 Home Street was still owned by us and I opened a printing press.
- 145 Even though I had no experience whatever in that, back home I had some family and friends who were in this business. Er, fast printing was the type of thing. I ran that for 5 years. I had staff in the business and again they were not good and were helping themselves. So I gave up that and took up this shop in 1986. Then I decided to stick on there.
- 150 I And by then you had your family?
- R By that the family start growing up a bit.
- I How many do you have? You have the two sons
- R Two sons and two daughters. The eldest is a daughter she is married in
- 155 Leicester and has my granddaughter, my first one. But the other thing when I had the children I decided to educate them. To me education is even more important nowadays than the even bread and butter. And I maybe have only bread and water but I have given my children the best education.
- I And where did they go?
- 160 R First daughter, she went to St Margaret's. Well, starting with the school, well it used to be St Margaret's school then Denis and Crannley, you've heard about them. After the school they went to college.
- I And what did they study?
- R The oldest one studied for, er, um, oh what do you call it, pharmacist. She is
- 165 pharmacist and my son-in-law is also pharmacist. They both work for Boots (yes). Quite good. Second daughter went to up the same college as you and is a food technologist (oh yes). She got a very, very good job but she's not working now as she is expecting my other grandchild any day now (haha). Haha, er, yes.
- I And your sons?
- 170 R My son, the one I meet you, ??? Chaudry, he went to that university [points over road] (Napier), yes Napier. He went there and did his BSc in electronics. The he took it over. And the youngest one he is almost 20 now and he is at Napier, no not that, not Napier, the other one over there (Herriot Watt?). no, the other college over there, er (Stevenson?). Stevenson, that's right (yes). He is doing computing in his
- 175 third year now (uhum).
- I So very varied (yes) varied interests. Have you ever done anything else with your education while you've been here?



180 R Well after I finished my education in the electronic industry and my father died and I worked in the transport industry and I did that for 12 or 13 years and supported my mother and my brothers and all my brothers are educated back home in Pakistan (uhum). I supported all of them and sent the money. They are all educated and in good industry.

I So when you came into this shop, you said it was very different. You were going to tell me about it.

185 R This shop was very very (I'm just conscious of the time). It was a very old time grocers, even not self-service and the family that used to run it were Robinsons they had it 50 years, we are only the second owners. And, er, we modernised the shop first. Made it self-service and I also keep my eyes on the up to date market (um). What the people wanted. Of course I can't afford to do this survey myself it is expensive. But I read it in the paper I seen it in the television and everything and also

190 I got to the shops and stores and get the ideas what the public demanded, what the local people are demanding. And I keep changing according to that (uhum). I think that's very important, otherwise you get left behind (yes). So we actually had to change all together, slowly as all the demand increased and is changing worldwide and nationwide and localwise we try to keep in touch with it.

195 I And is business still going well or is it finding increased competition?

R I would say it has stand still for the last couple of years. The reason it too many big stores in the area around us. One is right behind the shop, Asda. One is just quarter mile down the road, it is Tesco. The other one is half a mile away from the

200 shop, the other big one Safeway (uhum). Now I am surrounded by three big superstores (uhum, yes). That has meant that I have just stood still for the last two or three years. The good news is that we have not gone backwards and the thing is that we did something about it. We started selling newspapers. We started selling magazines. We

205 I And has that gone well?

R Yes. That has meant we can keep doing the same amount of business, it has saved our business.

I Yes. Erm, when the garage down the other way redeveloped, did that effect you at all?

210 R Yes it did effect me quite a lot. When the people stop there you see.

I Yes, if they can get things with their petrol they will do it all in the one

R Plus I think there is also new housing behind it. It used to be all ground 5 or 6 years ago (there is a big estate now, yes). It has helped (yes). The people, I mean, the people buy the day to day, they buy their bread and butter, milk and that down here.

215 Of course, everybody is going to the big stores but they see the small shop (uhum) for their small things. If they run out of something (yes) if they have any child they can say just go along and buy this, that. But in the community they still need it.

I Yes, they still need it. That is the point of doing the study really, to find out the issues from the business peoples' point of view, so that then hopefully I can

220 suggest that they can think about these particular issues.

R Even in my area, the people are so nice (uhum). They always say 'hello Mr Chaudry' even when we are not in the shop. And the other people coming into the shop in different parts of the city. People's attitudes are different in this area. The people are so nice. I didn't find any racial abuse or anything like that (uhum). As

225 long as you are nice to them, they will be nice. And I believe it. If I use force to

somebody for no reason, they will use force back. And I have advised to my son that service and the hygienic of your shop is more important (yes). Everything is changing now since I started, we never checked the dates (no, I didn't) but now you have to do it with everything. Which is good (yes). Not only for the public, for us too

230 (yes, it's better for everybody). The changes is very good. But the main reason for the small shops going out of the business I think maybe we will last another 5 years and we will have to change it the way the things are going. But the big stores (uhum) they had finished the local demand. The local housewives used to have one or two things they take them to the school then they used to bake. We had local suppliers

235 locally who used to make, what do you call it, local pies (um), local carrot cakes, made all sorts of sweets, butter sweets, you know. There used to be people who had some ground and grew their strawberries, potatoes, apples (yes) and they had a surplus. They used to sell them to me and I would sell them in the shop. They make money, I make money (yes). These habits have all changed (yes) they have all gone

240 now (there's no sense of community now somehow). That's all gone, we had a lot of suppliers, the shop had a lot of suppliers, but it is all gone now. also we have, this shop is dependent on the delivery service (uhum). We still have a delivery service but the delivery service is only to the old age pensioners (um). We don't charge anything actually if they spend £10 or over which is not hard nowadays (uhum). And

245 we still have some of the members of that generation who survive. But at the moment it is a matter of surviving (yes) not growing. It is all down to our hard work.

I So will your sons take over the business or will they go off to do

R Well I had a heart attack 5 years ago (uhum). Same year, 97 when he passed out his grad, his graduation, the same year I had a heart attack. And we had a

250 meeting. We could shut the shop, sell the shop, but we decided, he decided to stay in the shop (um). So at the moment I'm just helping out when I am needed, my son is running it. But they still need me for my experience (yes). mostly I am helping with the paper work and all that side of things..

I So the biggest thing you bring to the business is, you know, your commitment

255 (yes). If you are going to do it, you do it.

R You have to do it. But before you start you have to think, make up your mind. Before you do it you have to believe in it for yourself.

I Yes. And what do you think is your biggest (obstacle) obstacle. Not just in the trading and that but in you yourself?

260 R What personal?

I Yes.

R Well to me it is the health at the moment (uhum). Otherwise they would have gone in to their own jobs and we probably would have opened a chain of shops (uhum). But, erm, because of my health it is not for me to do it and it is up to the

265 boys now (uhum). But I don't know if it the way to go, especially now. There are too many big stores. If small shop is to do as well as me they must be very lucky (uhum). The reason I was able to survive was because I made my money 5 or 10 years ago. I had tried and changed and saved enough to buy this house and everything, very good.

270 I And do you think you will retire more and more from the business and enjoy some time and enjoy the fruits of you labours?

R Yes [laugh].

275 [Pause to have drink and check interview topics – aware of limited time and need to get back to shop.]

I Have you ever taken any business advice? You said the banks weren't very helpful with loans, have you ever gone to anyone else for business advice?

280 R Not really. Only the bank because I made a business proposal for them. Somehow they did help me and the Royal Bank were very helpful in 1978 or 79 when I was going to buy this house. The general bank attitude to us was very bad but the Royal bank was a wee bit helpful at that time (uhum).

I Was it because you were buying the house that they maybe felt a bit different?

285 R No, I because of my colour problem (uhum). At one time my bank was so bad, they let me down so badly when I was trying to buy this shop (uhum). They said yes, then no, then yes, then no, then a different amount. Then my lawyer said no more, he knew the reason (um). If you said your name was James Smith or something, of course it did help I don't have a dark colour (um) or anything then I  
290 would get it. But my name says I am Muslim. I don't remember having problems when I came the UK, I was very young, only 22 and six years of that I had spent with my mother, I can't remember that. But after that I have never had any problems. My attitude to the other people is I respect them, and that's the way it should be. No matter what the colour or religion, whatever it is you have to be nice to them today or  
295 you cannot expect them to be nice to you tomorrow.

I And does your religion affect your whole attitude to things?

R The other thing is my religion has played a large part in my self made struggle. I don't know much about religion, not about any religion even my own. But however I believe it. We in Islam says you think before you do but if you can't do it  
300 then do without it (uhum). And I strongly believe it. I started it even though it was a big risk (uhum) and thought OK I've started it through the grace of god, and god helped me, that is my belief (much the same as mine, whatever name you put on it). I feel strongly, as I say I am not a religious man but I believe it if you are Christian, Hindu, Budd, Muslim, you must stick to it. Be a good Christian. Be a good  
305 Muslim, be a good Hindu (uhum) if you believe it (yes). If you don't believe it, change it (yes). I don't know if that's right or not (that's much the same as me, at least be consistent). The other thing is because I've not studied a PhD in any religions I don't know. If somebody says right you are wrong this is the religion, I go along with it.

310 I Do you think this has had any conflict then, the Islam faith and selling alcohol and things, because some people have said this is a big issue for them personally.

R I did, I did have conflict once or twice (uhum) with my own people as well. But when I explained to them they understood my point very well and I explained  
315 one or two conflict I had. I had some people came to my shop with the big beard, some people and they asked me what you doing this is against the religion

[pause to have drink and again stress limited time]

320 They said this is against your religion you shouldn't be selling it. I said listen, I am selling it, I believe I am not drinking it because I know that is against my religion

and I just don't. But the thing is, if you want to live here, don't go down this position, for god's sake don't go to extreme (uhum). If you go too extreme probably you will clash with your own communities and the other people. I feel I am not  
325 drinking it, not touching it, it is all in the bottle, I am only making my living (uhum). And if you want some donation from me, in the beginning the people were very strict but not now, I feel that is missing. I also sell bread, I also sell butter, beans, tomatoes. If you are wanting a donation it also comes from the bread, butter and so on. If you can only think that the money has come from the alcohol then you are too narrow,  
330 you are too strict. My money comes from all the things I am selling (yes). If you are too strict, if you push me too hard then I will probably leave the religion all together (yes). And I mean it when I am saying it (yes) because to my belief, if I believe in my religion I believe in all of it. Of course I can't tell you the things Islam has said from A to Z, but I will do whatever I can do to follow the rules (yes).

335 [Continues to go on about role of church, religion, study of scriptures, similarity of all religions, need to make issues personal, everybody has decision to make and price to set on values, problems of killing on all sides of undeserving innocents, no one side better than the others or any worse.

340 Opportunities are there if you are honest and prepared to work hard.

Welcome to come back to talk again if necessary.

345 Negotiation of future visit to talk to son.

Willing to talk as I had good attitude to learn from each other.

350 Honesty and hard work is only way to get on and work is always available – if no education or opportunity for business then work on building site etc always better than signing on.]

R In 1966 my mother was not feeling well and she phoned me and said 'I am feeling so bad'. She died in 1992, that was 1986. So I shut the shop and went home.  
355 Shut the shop. I talked to the family and said 'mother comes first'. Everybody got only one mum (yes). And nobody can replace the parent (uhum). You can have more husband. You can have more wife. You can have more children. But you can only have one mother and one father. I prefer mothers (uhum) above the fathers, you know. And I went there and she was really bad and she couldn't believe it when she  
360 saw me (uhum). I was always the favourite son as I had supported them all when my father died and sent the money for my brothers to be educated and to keep my mother in the house. Within a week she was better and she lasted until 1992 (yes, uhum). She was a very religious person and she every time she always prayed good wishes for me and I never had anything wrong. After she died I had the heart attack  
365 and I have everything wrong with me. I have diabetes, I have arthritis, arthritis in my knee. that's why they brought me the Jeep as I can't drive in the car any more (yes, yes) because of my knees (uhum, yes). My advice to young men in this generation, regardless of race, colour or religion, if they want to do anything in business or in

education they have to be very honest, hard working. And their honesty is the first place.

370 I Yes. And do you just rely on your sons to run the shop or do you have staff or

R No, as I say we used to have but things are getting worse and worse so we have just our self. My younger son there, he is off today and he was off yesterday so he is helping out. We can't afford any more staff now. Otherwise to afford to keep

375 the big house, the shop and two or three cars we have to work hard. We used to have staff three or four years ago but there have been all these changes in the situation. Now I hope I have answered all your questions but if you have anything else please come to talk with me again and also come to talk with my son you are most welcome, please come, but let me know first.

380 I Of course, I would call to arrange it with

R I like you, the way you call me the other day, then you write me, then you ring. These kind of things matter (thank you). You done exactly the way I would do it years ago (thank you). It has been in my life since I am a young man, never wrongly promise anybody. If I give I give anybody a time unless sometimes a very

385 serious thing happens, sometimes there are things (yes) I always keep it (yes) always. See you gave me the time 10.20 then 10.30 and I was so busy in the house (yes, uhum) doing something and all these hospital problems but 10 minutes before (yes) I was there. That's the way it should be (yes). I always advised my children never promise if you can't do it (uhum) and once you have committed yourself you have to

390 do it (yes). And that is one part of my religion, doesn't matter the name of religion that is what you do (sometimes things happen and you can't make it but you call and rearrange, that happens). I liked it as you went step by step the right way and I saw that you were a genuine person and I hope that you succeed on your PhD.

I Thank you, and I really appreciate you help but your son will be wondering

395 where you are.

Returned to shop and son agreed to meet later when wife is out of hospital and he is then going away in a few weeks. Explained that interviews will be going on until late in the year and agreed to contact at end of summer to arrange meeting.



## Appendix 2: Sample initial analysis: Interview 11

### 11 Initial analysis from interview topics

#### 1. Personal background

Married. 4 children. 1 + 1 immanent grandchildren.

Born in India - Pakistan as refugees during religious problems following partition - Lahore - Manchester in 1962 aged 22 (born 1940, now 62).

Well-off family with land and businesses in India - nothing in Lahore as refugees - pride in business and particularly house ownership.

Qualified as electrician in Pakistan - worked for Burma Shell oil company - came to UK to continue education in Bradford University.

Father died - left university and got job to support family in Pakistan.

**"Unfortunately my dad died. I was the eldest and I finished my career in education and tried to find a job" (121-3).**

Work in cotton mill - bus driver for 12 or 13 years - saved to buy home - wanted to start business so moved to Edinburgh in late 1970s - moved to current home in 1979.

Engaged before coming to UK - wife followed after a few years and married in Manchester.

4 children.

2 girls educated in single sex schools

1 university - pharmacist - married to pharmacist in Leicester

2 food technology at QMUC - very good job but now about to have baby.

2 sons educated in private schools

1 Napier University - BSc in electronics in 1997 - married - 1 son - now running shop

2 (age 20) year 3 of computing at Stevenson College

4 brothers in Pakistan all educated by money sent home after death of father and during 13 years in transport industry in Manchester.

#### 2. Business background

Double fronted shop - changed since purchase - sell everything **"(so you sell pretty well everything) Almost everything and household as well. We have a separate section of supplies. People always need these things, normal wear and tear type. People always want things" (35-40).**

'Shop of the month' in 1981 (see notes).

Continuous upgrading of premises and stock.

Family tradition of property and business ownership - property more important than business.

Work to provide for family and extended family - bought house - looked around for business.

**"They gave me the job so I done that for 12 or 13 years. Then, I don't know, maybe something in my gene because my whole family is still, the rest of the family in Pakistan they are all in businesses. And I saved some money to buy a house and I was looking for a business and I found the shop in Edinburgh and we came" (144-9).**

Shop in 1975 - 2 or 3 more shops - 10 staff - problems - closed all but 1 shop - closed shop - opened printing business - closed after 5 years - opened current shop in 1986.

**"This shop was very very, it was a very old time grocers, even not self-service and the family that used to run it were Robinsons they had it 50 years, we are only the second owners. And, er, we modernised the shop first. Made it self-service and I also keep my eyes on the up to date market. What the people wanted. Of course I can't afford to do this survey myself it is expensive. But I read it in the paper I seen it in the television and everything and also I got to the shops and stores and get the ideas what the public demanded, what the local people are demanding. And I keep changing according to that. I think that's very important, otherwise you get left behind. So we actually had to change all together, slowly as all the demand increased and is changing worldwide and nationwide and localwise we try to keep in touch with it" (226-39).**

Business aim to open chain of shops but health not up to it so the future is up to sons now.

**"Well to me it is the health at the moment. Otherwise they would have gone in to their own jobs and we probably would have opened a chain of shops. But, erm, because of my health it is not for me to do it and it is up to the boys now. But I don't know if it the way to go, especially now. There are too many big stores. If small shop is to do as well as me they must be very lucky. The reason I was able to survive was because I made my money 5 or 10 years ago. I had tried and changed and saved enough to buy this house and everything, very good" (325-34).**

### **3. Motivational factors**

'Dream home' - large detached house in big, well laid-out and maintained gardens with views across city.

Family tradition and surname of 'lord' or 'landlord' - changed circumstances - motivated to get any sort of work to feed family but important to eventually own property again.

**"But we are, er, refugee from India to Pakistan and my family always been. Chaudry means landlord. Of course it is a common name but our name means lord, you know, landlord, the people who own lots of the land and businesses plus land. But land is more important than the businesses for our culture. My parents used to be quite well off but when we were kicked out from India from there religious rivals then we went to Pakistan, Lahore and er, we were looking for something to feed our family. So there were two reasons behind it – first thing is to get the education and to be supported to get them bread. That made me go anywhere in the world so I chose the UK" (93-104).**



High motivation for education

**"In a matter of fact to get the education. The first thing to do is to manage to get the education. When somebody is educated there is always more chance of getting work than the uneducated one. Which I believe strongly" (114-7).**

Business entry result of background. **"They gave me the job so I done that for 12 or 13 years. Then, I don't know, maybe something in my gene because my whole family is still, the rest of the family in Pakistan they are all in businesses. And I saved some money to buy a house and I was looking for a business and I found the shop in Edinburgh and we came" (144-9).**

Pride in being self-made man - no family or friends in Edinburgh to make setting up of business venture and family home easy.

**"(And did you know people in Edinburgh?) No. Nobody else. Nothing at all. Self made man" (150-1).**

Confidence in ability and decision + hard work = success.

**"First of all it's the confidence of having the ability. If I decided, I'm that kind of person, if I've decided something, I go for it. If I can't do anything I think before I start it and end up saying if I can't do it, I'm never doing it. Because I had no friends, no family, anybody to help me, I knew if I don't work hard then I will never do it.**

**So I decided if I don't work hard now I will never make it. So it is hard work, confidence, seven days a week, 12 or 14 hours a day. At the end of the day it paid off" (153-63).**

Independent - does not trust others.

**"I had two or three more shops. One time I had, er, one, two, three, I had three shops at the time. Then I noticed to run three shops you need stock, you need staff, I had 10 people working for me at that time in the three. But they were not honest. They were helping themselves behind my back. So I decided to go alone. I just did not trust it so I decided to do something different" (165-71).**

**"I had staff in the business and again they were not good and were helping themselves. So I gave up that and took up this shop in 1986. Then I decided to stick on there" (183-5).**

Education always important but even more so now.

**"But the other thing when I had the children I decided to educate them. To me education is even more important nowadays than the even bread and butter. And I maybe have only bread and water but I have given my children the best education" (192-4).**

Hard work is the answer to success.

**"But at the moment it is a matter of surviving not growing. It is all down to our hard work" (304-6).**

Need to think, make decision and believe in it for yourself.

**"You have to do it. But before you start you have to think, make up your mind. Before you do it you have to believe in it for yourself" (318-20).**

Need to respect others.

**"My attitude to the other people is I respect them, and that's the way it should be. No matter what the colour or religion, whatever it is you have to be nice to them today or you cannot expect them to be nice to you tomorrow" (362-5).**

Took risk when starting out in business but followed religious principles to think before doing it and if not able to do it then do without.

**"The other thing is my religion has played a large part in my self made struggle. I don't know much about religion, not about any religion even my own. But however I believe it. We in Islam says you think before you do but if you can't do it then do without it. And I strongly believe it. I started it even though it was a big risk and thought OK I've started it through the grace of god, and god helped me, that is my belief" (367-73).**

Sticks to rules as far as possible but argues against religious and other authorities pushing people too hard.

**"If you are too strict, if you push me too hard then I will probably leave the religion all together. And I mean it when I am saying it because to my belief, if I believe in my religion I believe in all of it. Of course I can't tell you the things Islam has said from A to Z" (407-11).**

Way to success is through hard work and honesty.

**"My advice to young men in this generation, regardless of race, colour or religion, if they want to do anything in business or in education they have to be very honest, hard working. And their honesty is the first place" (451-4).**

Always do what you say you will do - be worthy of trust.

**"I always advised my children never promise if you can't do it and once you have committed yourself you have to do it" (478-80).**

#### **4. Individual perceptions**

Name = land and business - land more important in culture (98-8).

Racial issues when coming to UK - given dirty job in cotton mill but never harassed (130-40).

Family tradition of business - influence of genes (145-7) - save money to buy house and business.

Business success dependent on decision making and hard work (161-3).

Perception of bank bad attitude to foreigners (174-7).

Family / culture influence to leave education and work to support family - tradition to send money home but proud of success in brothers' education and jobs.

**"Well after I finished my education in the electronic industry and my father died and I worked in the transport industry and I did that for 12 or 13 years and supported my mother and my brothers and all my brothers are educated back home in Pakistan. I supported all of them and sent the money. They are all educated and in good industry" (218-23).**

Business success affected by big stores competition - respond by diversifying into newsagency (242-50).

Tries to be of service to the community - no harassment, different in this area to other parts of UK and Edinburgh - if you are nice to people they will be nice to you and remain customers. **"Even in my area, the people are so nice. They always say 'hello Mr Chaudry' even when we are not in the shop. And the other people coming into the shop in different parts of the city. People's attitudes are different in this area. The people are so nice. I didn't find any racial abuse or anything like that. As long as you are nice to them, they will be nice. And I believe it. If I use force to somebody for no reason, they will use force back. And I have advised to my son that service and the hygienic of your shop is more important"** (273-81).

Changing local demand - surviving not growing (285-306).

Business potential affected by personal health problems forcing less involvement in business. Son's increased responsibility on day to day basis focuses on one shop rather than plan to open chain if sons all involved (309-15).

Bank colour prejudice perceived when trying to buy shop (352-64).

Racial / religious / community influences on attitude to work and self-made struggle **"My attitude to the other people is I respect them, and that's the way it should be. No matter what the colour or religion, whatever it is you have to be nice to them today or you cannot expect them to be nice to you tomorrow. (And does your religion affect your whole attitude to things?) The other thing is my religion has played a large part in my self made struggle. I don't know much about religion, not about any religion even my own. But however I believe it. We in Islam says you think before you do but if you can't do it then do without it. And I strongly believe it. I started it even though it was a big risk and thought OK I've started it through the grace of god, and god helped me, that is my belief"** (367- 73).

Conflict between personal and community / religious leaders' views. **"I did have conflict once or twice with my own people as well. But when I explained to them they understood my point very well and I explained one or two conflict I had. I had some people came to my shop with the big beard, some people and they asked me what you doing this is against the religion"** (387-90).

Community influences / religious community pressures - justifies sale of alcohol but refuses to bow to pressure and go to extremes (394-412).

Strong sense of responsibility to parents (especially loyalty to mother) over business (432-6).

## **5. Ethnic strategies**

Son involved in business and in charge of day to day running.

Family in Pakistan always been in business.

Personal finance used to start business and buy house - no family or friends in UK or Edinburgh so had to stand alone and start from scratch.

No use of community, family or co-ethnic finance or labour on start up - mainstream staff and co-ethnic in 3 shops.

Business not further developed due to lack of trust in non-family staff (169-71).

Barrier of 5 years hard work limiting time with family at home combined with staff problems - do something different - family experience in Pakistan suggested diversification away from convenience store to printing business.

Approached bank for finance but problems (? Racial) getting loans - kept one premises to change from shop to new business - developed over 5 years - mainstream staff - repeated trust issues - reverted to shop in new premises - business developed and diversified to be proactive to competition.

Shop was what he knew how to do.

Aware of local competition from stores and petrol station and changing consumer trends (226-68).

Alters goods and services offered to meet local demands and proactive to wider trends.

Strategy of good service, good attitude and hygiene to maintain customer loyalty.

Regrets changing local demand / supply chain (285-306).

Only 5 years left in shop - surviving not growing and only surviving as result of diversification into newsagency. Problems also linked to changing local demographics.

Previous strategy to have sons in own careers and chain of shops - too much competition and health issues - stay in small shop - survives because money made over years funds current house and business overheads (326-34).

Used bank for finance despite initial racial issues.

Business strategy of honesty in all aspects of life (452-4).

Younger son involved on part time basis (wife involved in 1<sup>st</sup> shop - see notes on business award for detail of approach to business / suppliers / stock control / promotion / pricing policy etc in 1<sup>st</sup> shop and carried on in all business ventures since).

### **+1 Generation issues**

Son taking over after family decision - younger son to be involved - possibility of family run chain of shops now not so likely due to health issues BUT one shop preferred option to chain with other staff - tried before and abandoned due to staff / trust problems.

### **+2 Symbol group**

Intends to stay independent as likes to be in control, develop, diversify, get best supplies locally and bulk rather than restrictions of symbol group membership and scale of orders, prices, merchandising and costs (notes from business award article).

### **Appendix 3: Thumbnail sketches of final research sample**

The thumbnail sketches were developed to provide an indication of the results of initial analysis of the interview transcripts and field notes. These were then used as the basis for establishing the internal and external validity and reliability and of the research through member checks with selected respondents and peer/supervisor review of the research process, as described in Chapter 2: Methodology and Methods.

## Interview 1

<b>Personal background</b>	Age 55 – 60. Pakistan – London – Edinburgh (1976). Children (2 boys 1 girl) born Edinburgh No business, higher or further education. Social worker then developed business interests. Involved in community work, Justice of Peace.
<b>Business background</b>	Worked as manager for other community member then own business. Business in inner city residential and business area. Partner and shareholder in other ventures – retail, restaurant, property. Co-ethnic staff. No other family in business activity. Children in higher education and finance.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	Business and community life intertwined – ethnic and mainstream. Strong influence of religion and culture. Pride in success. Sets high standards for self and business.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Strong community and cultural influences and links. Eager to overcome discrimination and show respect for all. Sees changing attitudes over generations and potential for future conflict within families and community. Too much bureaucracy and institutional racism. Potential for mainstream staff limited by pay and hours. Staff costs are biggest restriction to profitability.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Conflict of Muslim attitudes to alcohol and business needs. 1 <sup>st</sup> generation education limited options. Strong sense of community. Improved education has improved opportunities for 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> generation migrants. Business problems external more than internal. Problems dealt with inside community rather than relying on outside help – business opportunities, resources, competition.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Children to take advantage of education to improve options – best not self-employed unless in ‘better’ sector.
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Restrict freedom and use of resources.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	Business still open – expanded activities to take-away food outlet.

## Interview 2

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Age 50 – 55.</p> <p>Pakistan – London on marriage – Glasgow – Edinburgh.</p> <p>No formal business education.</p> <p>Worked for brother-in-law in Glasgow.</p> <p>Relatives in Edinburgh – initial business partnership with brother-in-law.</p> <p>2 sons – 1 married Pakistani, 1 married Scot.</p> <p>4 grandchildren.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>Experience in London, Glasgow and Edinburgh with family members.</p> <p>Saw opportunity to be independent and build on experience.</p> <p>Co-ethnic and family staff.</p> <p>Family involved in business and other activity – restaurant, food factory.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Willing to work hard and learn.</p> <p>Enjoys challenge.</p> <p>Prepared to make sacrifices for business.</p> <p>Thrives on learning and helping others to develop.</p> <p>Traditional values but adapted to suit personal goals.</p> <p>Pride in community and culture.</p> <p>Wants to see family name known in 100 years time.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Influenced by family.</p> <p>Disappointed sons not interested in family business.</p> <p>Problems with working too closely with family and friends.</p> <p>Concern over impact of racial issues on family, community and business.</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Saw opportunity through experience in family businesses.</p> <p>Uses co-ethnic labour.</p> <p>Middleman market for ethnic products (also producer).</p> <p>No use made of business or family advice, finance etc at start-up.</p> <p>Mainstream finance used.</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>Main restriction to business is sons' lack of interest.</p> <p>Using skills of daughters-in-law to develop wider business interests.</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>Limit freedom and access to all products and markets.</p> <p>Good to access product information and discounts.</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>Retired, although involved in advisory capacity to son now running business.</p>

### Interview 3

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Pakistan – joined father in Edinburgh (worked in UK then Edinburgh as bus driver and sent money home for family education etc)</p> <p>Early education Pakistan – Edinburgh age 10 (Primary 6 but lower standard than Pakistan).</p> <p>Secondary education – computer studies Napier (dropped out) – diploma in electronics (dropped out) – journalism (dropped out).</p> <p>Mid-twenties evening classes for languages and interpreting to use in voluntary activities in community.</p> <p>Parents in Edinburgh – brother married, 2 boys – married, 1 girl, 1 boy.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>Family shop – family decision to sell – worked for video chain – moved to London – failed business ventures – Edinburgh – current business in retail and translation service/voluntary work.</p> <p>Brother in family business – own travel business but also linked to retail.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Using talents and experience – admire self-made men (video chain owner) – family support to break from retail tradition – commercial side gives resources for community work.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Family support invaluable. Good community links – little racial problems at local level –(community involvement and pale skin) – changing generational attitudes (nephews see Edinburgh now home and Pakistan holiday) – business depends on policy, finance and personal satisfaction levels (easier for 2<sup>nd</sup> son)</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Community involvement (voluntary translation work) led to awareness of business opportunities.</p> <p>Ethnic minority (not family) accountant. Business in London funded by family finance from sale of Edinburgh shop – failed – return to Edinburgh and business now funded by overdraft etc. family finance supported family home etc in early stages.</p> <p>Business barriers external (racial tension, economy etc) but more importantly continued personal motivation and satisfaction (altered now married).</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>Parents regret children still in shops – not personal issue as children still very young – nephews will have to make up own minds.</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>Not discussed</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>No longer c-store involvement but range of family small businesses.</p>



## Interview 4

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Age 34</p> <p>Manchester – Edinburgh age 12</p> <p>Parents Edinburgh – 2 sisters (1 in Royal Bank, 1 helps in businesses) – married 2 boys, 1 girl – wife Pakistan – London 11 years ago – family business background Pakistan and London.</p> <p>20 years in same home local to business – involved in schools, community council, mainstream and South Asian links.</p> <p>School to 6<sup>th</sup> year.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>Always involved in family businesses (retail, take-away, construction, distribution, property, tanning studio, printing etc) – business second nature.</p> <p>Looked after Manchester shop at age 13 when father moved to Edinburgh to set up new venture.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Easily bored, likes challenge – pride in family business and personal achievements – aim to build family business empire for future generations – inspired by role models and making money.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Family and tradition dictated entry into business – little racial tension – family integrated into local community – role and responsibilities in family and community - changing roles with migrant generation eg wife and sisters involved in business/careers – business success depends on sheer hard work.</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Main business to carry on from father's business – develop new ideas and opportunities – seek business advice from mainstream sources – use family resources for new ventures, develop and sell – rely on bank for some finance not community – use wide range of suppliers, markets and contacts, whatever available to get best deal.</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>Resource limit potential – sisters have own careers/ families/ goals – wants strong business to hand on to sons (oldest not too interested but younger showing promise although only young) – not involving wider family – next generation may use managers for some activities but keep family involvement to keep financial benefits.</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>Pride in own hard work and family focus so not considered as would interfere with control.</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>Wide range of small business activities including two larger c-stores in similar location.</p>

## Interview 5

<b>Personal background</b>	Age 45 - 50 Born Pakistan – Edinburgh age 13. Father earlier Pakistan – Edinburgh. Family in Edinburgh and Stirling. Sisters in UK – brother farming in Pakistan (family background) 2 young children – nephew helps in business. School to 16. No further education.
<b>Business background</b>	Business gift on leaving school – 30 yrs in same location but developed and expanded over recent years. Wider family later involved in business activities – sisters in retail and manufacturing.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	Looks forward to getting out of business – not wanted in first place. Provides means to give family education and opportunities – NOT in c-store. Work hard to improve standard of living – reason for any migration. Independence of own business and contact with community.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Decisions made by father – migration and business – children Scottish as much as Pakistani. Support available within Pakistani community. Problems come from ignorance, lack of understanding and jealousy. Family help and guide are big influence – community pressure not influence on business and family life.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Family business – family staff – family resources. Prepared to work very hard to get results (improved standard of living and education opportunities for family). No external business help – learn as business developed. Bank finance for developments and mortgage etc rather than family or community finance. Barriers to success external competition, planning etc.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Obligation to father to start and stay in business. Children not to come into business – nephew not capable to manage business so will sell and retire (implication this will happen when father dies).
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Chains seen as threat to small businesses. Membership not discussed.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	Shop still open but under new management.

## Interview 6

<b>Personal background</b>	Age 35 - 40 Father Pakistan - Dundee or Aberdeen – Edinburgh. Born Pakistan – Edinburgh age 12. Older brother shop in Edinburgh. Married – wife helps in shop – 2 children. Father died 25 years ago – mother helps in shops. No education beyond school.
<b>Business background</b>	Father in business on move to Edinburgh. Brother took over on father's death - current shop expands on that base. Opened business in 1987 – 6-7 years to establish. Other business – property letting. Brother responsible for finance but learning to stand alone.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	Family had roots in Edinburgh so difficult to go back to Pakistan on father's death. Life in Pakistan was struggle – regarded as home and enjoyable for holidays. Not easy to make money but get benefit of all hard work. Limited options when older and no education. Likes to try new things – develop business and other activities - challenge and goals – things for family benefit.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Asian's have to work twice as hard to get anywhere, build trust. Bad image of small shop keepers – overcome through time, service offered etc. Strategy of adapting business to suit customers and offer service eg alcohol. Need to have better communication between communities to benefit business. Brother strong influence on business approach.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Customers' perceptions of Asian business – change in time. Business experience from father, brother and trial and error. Family, non-family and mainstream staff - age is limitation to opportunities rather than ethnic background. Family advice and finance on start-up – use of bank for property business finance. Willing to try anything to improve business – aware of changes and need to be like mainstream owned businesses.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Children still young and need education – go into business if doing well as better than working for someone else, if business not good then do something else. Aware of changing generational motivations.
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Too small for Spar so joined Londis – way to get benefit of national image, offers, marketing, experience, product ranges and developments. Can be restrictive but adapts offers and merchandising to suit local needs and preferences.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	Business thriving and expanded to neighbouring property. Still Londis.

## Interview 7

<b>Personal background</b>	Age 30 – 35. Father P – Huddersfield (35 – 40 years ago)- Ed (20 yr ago). Born Huddersfield - brother Pakistan, sister Huddersfield Relatives in Edinburgh. School – college electrical engineering. Married – 2 children – roots now in Edinburgh.
<b>Business background</b>	Family moved to Edinburgh to open shop 20 years ago. Chose shop rather than electrical engineer (b/s not in shops). Family have 3 shops and property rental business. Taken over when father semi-retired due to ill health. Business skills learned on job.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	Better lifestyle form self-employment. Hands on best way to learn and face challenges. Influenced by parents example of hard work and achievement of personal goals. Wants to better self and family opportunities.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Racial issues influence employment options – not as bad as other parts of UK but getting worse. Problems increased regulations/manufacturers links with supermarkets limit product ranges and prices to small shops. Banks make barriers unless understand ethnic issues. Ethnic issues raise aims, work and effort needed to succeed – spur to be success! Business direction changed to respond to changing consumer patterns – top up shop not main weekly shop for most. Problems and opportunities not Asian issue but external factors for all small businesses.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Less tradition of son following father into business. Father's initial reliance on family and community finance and advice due to limited language skills (still an issue for some situations). Still use family finance where possible but good relationship with banks for property development businesses. Tension between market needs and culture/religion/tradition issues. Use family staff where possible to keep resources in family but use other staff when necessary.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Chose to take over from father – wants to leave business to children but not shop – plans to sell within 5 years and focus on property unless prices rise too much in Edinburgh.
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Possible advantages but take away control. Advice and experience helpful but only if financial benefit guaranteed.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	Shop still open but run by family and mainstream community staff as owner more involved in other business activities. Now symbol group.

## Interview 8

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Age 30 – 35</p> <p>Father Kashmir – Yorkshire – factory work to make money and return to Pakistan but then stayed.</p> <p>Born Kashmir – 2 brothers – to UK when young. School Bradford – Keighly Technical College – join older brother in Edinburgh, age 17. No business qualifications.</p> <p>Rejected initial suggested marriage at age 23/24 but married other suggestion age 26. Wife came to Edinburgh on marriage (language problems initially) – 3 children 10, 9, 6.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>Brother opened shop in Edinburgh – worked together to build successful business – Asian Trader Award age 23.</p> <p>Left family business – worked for friend. Finance issues limited business opportunities but then started business with wife – pressured by friend. No other business activities would expand but limited local potential for increased expense.</p> <p>Aim to keep business going to balance needs and family life.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Hated school - wanted to be independent – work available.</p> <p>Not driven by business and - life / work – balance important.</p> <p>Previously driven by ambition, now content to maintain good lifestyle and provide for family.</p> <p>Confidence and determination to succeed, proud of success.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Family influence strong – challenges traditions but also maintains ideals. Conflict of good business practice and culture etc eg alcohol. Some general racial issues – not personal – improve when accepted by community over time.</p> <p>Community influence/involvement to help wife settle – same issues as faced by mother.</p> <p>Business potential related to work put in – success limited by competition and local changes – success achieved by providing service.</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Access to ownership through family and community. Strong reliance on community links for advice, opportunities and finance (family not so important due to split but now improved again).</p> <p>Influenced by ethnic approach to business but changing over years from personal experience.</p> <p>Learn business lessons hard way – no time or need for external advice.</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>Children still young - education opportunities rather than assume shop involvement.</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>Suitable for bigger premises – not looking to grow as happy with work/family balance at present.</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>Still same small shop, still same attitude to work and family balance.</p>

## Interview 9

<b>Personal background</b>	Age 60. Born Pakistan – joined uncle in Wishaw age 18 – Livingston – Edinburgh in 1973. No formal education in UK Married – 2 sons – 1 university then shop, 1 school.
<b>Business background</b>	Worked for uncle in Wishaw – own ice-cream van – shop in Wishaw - shop in Livingston – current business since 1973. Business developed and evolved with local area. Lessons learned from failed Wishaw shop developed success in Livingston.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	Prefers self-employment – opportunities and money. Learn from mistakes and stand alone financially. Running business requires skill – only do what is possible for individual. Not wanting big risks to get possible big reward – content with happy family life.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Business success by hard work and good service. Changing values affect business opportunities – threat from big business. Good relationship with customers and local community essential. Better for second generation due to language/culture factors. Son's increased involvement influencing strategy and development.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Family/community advice/resources relied on initially but now independent. Business advice from community/friends on informal level. Use family and local staff – improves community links/loyalty – so long in area regarded as local.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Son education opportunity not take (did not complete university course) so shop involvement only option left. Now enthusiastic, developing business ready for father to gradually retire – will be difficult not to be involved. Hope other son will pursue education and not take on shop.
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Experienced independence and group membership – help to be in group for image, manufacturers deals, marketing etc. Still add own ideas to get best of both worlds – agencies, credit, cash point etc.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	Retired, but minor involvement in shop run by son.

## Interview 10

<b>Personal background</b>	Age 60 – 65 Born Pakistan came to England to study – construction business – money home to family. Worked on buses in Manchester – Edinburgh – Pakistan – Edinburgh. Lives local to shop – married, son married, daughters at home.
<b>Business background</b>	Family construction company in Pakistan – Manchester take-away – shop – Edinburgh shop and now property letting, construction, other shops and various business ventures over years alone – returned to Pakistan - now more businesses activities with son.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	Belief in hard work as only way to get what you want – inspired by Robert Maxwell as high achieving migrant – problem not knowing when to say enough is enough. Aim for business is money – if not good then get out. Ambitious – influence of family tradition of having house etc before marriage. Need to be honest about ambitions – change with age and family responsibilities. Important to put others first – part of wider community.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Business not easy life but learn from mistakes. Strong influence of Islam and father. Potential for racial tension – need discipline and respect on all sides.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Family trait to self-employment – use of family resources in Pakistan but not in UK. Proud of achievement in Edinburgh – involvement in local community and Pakistani community. Banks offer little help to small business but hard work is way forward not relying on co-ethnic resources. Family only in shop – others in other activities – opportunities if money coming in, bad business will fail no matter what sector or owner's background.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Not discussed but son and daughters involved in family business activities.
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Not discussed – shop not now main business focus as semi-retired and leaving more decisions to son.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	Still providing support to son in shop and wider activities.

## Interview 11

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Age 62.</p> <p>Born India – Pakistan as refugees following partition – electrician - Manchester 1962, age 22, Bradford University – father died so got job to support family in Pakistan – cotton mill – bus driver 12 years – Edinburgh late 1970s.</p> <p>Wife Pakistan – Manchester – married – 4 children – 2 girls (pharmacist in Leicester, food technician Edinburgh), 2 sons (BSc electronics now in shop, yr 3 computing Edinburgh).</p> <p>4 brothers and mother in Pakistan supported/educated from bus driving time in Manchester.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>Shop in Edinburgh – 3 more shops – closed all but 1 – shop of the year in 1981 - printing business – current shop since 1986.</p> <p>Aim to have chain of shops again but health now poor so up to sons to take further.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Family tendency to self-employment – tradition and surname ‘Landlord’ – all taken away as refugees so important to have something again – shop and dream home.</p> <p>High motivation for education – creates chance in life.</p> <p>Pride in success – confidence in ability, decision and hard work = success but need respect for others.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Business affected by big stores – bank attitude not helpful.</p> <p>Small business may survive if change to meet local demand but difficult to grow.</p> <p>Can be conflict between personal and community views and business approaches.</p> <p>Need to be of service to community, customers and family.</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Personal finance used – no family or friends in UK.</p> <p>Mainstream and co-ethnic staff in shops some lack of trust.</p> <p>Family decision for son to give up career and take over business.</p> <p>Bank finance now used – overcome initial language/race issues once businesses expand and for house purchase.</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>All children educated – should have careers but poor health limits ability to keep shop going. Family decision that older son now involved in shop and taking over decision making.</p> <p>Younger son works in shop to fit round studies but will become more involved in future – daughters married so no longer involved in family business but with in-laws.</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>Intend to stay independent – likes control over development and product diversity and use of local suppliers, setting own prices and merchandising etc.</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>Thriving business – all family involved, including daughter-in-law.</p>



## Interview 12

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Age 40 – 45.</p> <p>Family Pakistan – Bristol (parents, older sister, twin brother) then 2 more brothers and 4 more sisters – Lancashire – Dundee. Educated Dundee – apprentice boiler maker – worked 1 year – started business with twin.</p> <p>Parents returned Pakistan – boys had UK upbringing and saw better opportunities.</p> <p>Married suggested wife in Pakistan – return to run shop while brother away for 6 months before wedding – 3 boys.</p> <p>Live with twin (2 boys, 1 girl) – pressure on only girl due to traditional restriction on activities – brother now moved to neighbouring flat.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>Started shop in 1981 – moved across road 5 years ago after trial run at bigger premises. Business suggested by friend in Dundee. Aim not to make lots of money but to give children best opportunities for education.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Aim to make enough money to meet family needs and education for children but also to have time to spend with family – opening times adjusted to suit this.</p> <p>Very strong religious influences – need to be good example to family and customers etc.</p> <p>Not greedy or ambitious as this goes against having respect for others. Will get out of business once children independent. Following parents example, likes control of business with brother.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Limit to business is personal lack of ambition to make money – advantage is willingness to listen to customers.</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Bank finance on start-up plus personal funds.</p> <p>No business advice sought – information and help from friends and learned as business developed.</p> <p>Business advice taken from community members.</p> <p>Community finance has obligations attached – better using own resources.</p> <p>Wives and children help in shop when needed.</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>Children not expected or encouraged to come into business – should look for jobs with good money and career prospects with standing in society.</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>Considered Londis but would take away freedom to develop or exit when desired. Costly to change shop – need to extend trading hours – would need change in attitude to alcohol sales. Remaining independent seemed best way forward.</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>Family still operate shop (local competition closed)– all involved but sons to pursue education as priority.</p>

## Interview 13

<b>Personal background</b>	Age 52. Born India – Pakistan – Wolverhampton – BSc physics, chemistry and maths – medical problem so no job – joined uncle in Edinburgh. Married – 2 sons (degrees in computing and economics)
<b>Business background</b>	Uncle had shop and advised business entry as problems getting job – worked together for 3 months then opened own business. 24 years in same shop. No other business activity – brothers in jobs in India.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	Likes independence and choice. Settled in Edinburgh and will work to allow sons to get education and jobs. Important to be own boss – downside is lack of time off and problem finding cover for holidays etc – would not take on shop if starting again – saw no alternative.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Entry decision influenced by uncle and health issues. More chances for sons with Scottish education. No experience of prejudice in Edinburgh – accepted as part of local community.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Example and guidance of uncle. No other support or advice. Relies on self and wife to run business. Changes in stock, opening etc to respond to big local demographic issues over years. Good behaviour is best strategy – all customers and suppliers are important – you are nice, they are nice and come back.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Children not interested in business – not encouraged – better to get good jobs after good local education.
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Not worthwhile – costs too high – small shops still needed for top-up shopping and less mobile customers would be missed if closed – struggle to keep open but independence gives ability to adapt not possible if part of group – knows local demand after 24 years.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	Business closed and area under regeneration.

## Interview 14

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Age 25.</p> <p>Parents Pakistan – Huddersfield – Broxburn – Gateshead – Newcastle – Edinburgh.</p> <p>Born Broxburn – sister born Huddersfield.</p> <p>Education Newcastle – motor mechanic – bank and insurance company work.</p> <p>Parents, uncles and cousins in Edinburgh.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>Family business involvement 12 years – Newcastle and Edinburgh (parents shops for 30-35 years, both currently involved in Edinburgh shop).</p> <p>11 months in own shop.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Followed family and extended family business patterns.</p> <p>Likes independence compared to working for large organisations.</p> <p>Experience shows not easy option, but still better to be own boss.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Strong family influence in business entry decision and practice.</p> <p>Business success depends on word of mouth publicity – way to build up business after previous owner.</p> <p>Success limited by external factors rather than internal or racial issues.</p> <p>Problems for small shops with regulations and legislation.</p> <p>Need to compete on service offered if not on local price competition.</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Following family tradition and perceived expectations.</p> <p>Use of community and family labour and family finance for start-up.</p> <p>Use bank for overdraft and financial advice.</p> <p>Use family contacts for suppliers, stock range info etc.</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>Copied father and uncle business approach and sector entry decision.</p> <p>No children so not considered at this point – did not expect to join family business as encouraged by parents to train as mechanic and have that trade as fall back if shop fails.</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>Sees plus points of stock delivery and potential improvement in margins.</p> <p>Does not like idea of control being reduced.</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>Still in premises but now internet café and news outlet.</p>

## Interview 15

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Age 50 – 55.</p> <p>Born Pakistan – UK in 1966, age 14. father migrated to improve family prospects, family joined after few years. 1 brother, 4 sisters.</p> <p>School Huddersfield – factory – apprentice wool yarn manufacturer – Whitburn 1975 – shop.</p> <p>1981 Whitburn – Newcastle – Edinburgh.</p> <p>Married 1975, age 23. 2 children schooling Newcastle - son business, daughter BA Hons, works in insurance.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>In business since 1975.</p> <p>Family farming background in Pakistan – factory work in Huddersfield – shop business 5 years after son. Whitburn 1975 – 81 – sold – Newcastle 1982 – 95 – Edinburgh shop last move.</p> <p>Aim always been to improve family status – almost complete as children established in business and careers.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Long hours and hard work but better to be own boss.</p> <p>If going to do something, get on with it – decision made then hard work and luck make success.</p> <p>Location important for family quality of life.</p> <p>Always willing to try new things – never too old to learn.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Age prejudice more evident than racial issues.</p> <p>Strong family influences – planned to suit children's education. Business opportunities restricted by changing consumer behaviour and tightening margins.</p> <p>Community involvement vital to success – sees self as British, not likely to return to Pakistan.</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Took co-ethnic advice on initial business location and sector – influenced father and son on their later business start-ups.</p> <p>Soon developed mainstream contacts.</p> <p>Initial use of Asian networks to access suppliers then increased level of integration with local business people and community.</p> <p>Family staff (wife, children, nephews).</p> <p>Bank used for finance but not business advice – perceived on different time scale to needs of micro-retail outlets.</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>Son born in business and learned bit by bit – would have preferred him to take up mechanics trade/business but support him in decision.</p> <p>Glad daughter is not in shop – aim to improve family status seen as career other than shop.</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>Sees importance of elements offered by groups but seen as too tying. Can do similar as independent if make good use of suppliers and promotions.</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>Business still open – local competition closed and new housing developments near completion.</p>

## Interview 16

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Age 45 – 50.</p> <p>Born Pakistan – father to England 30 years ago – family followed.</p> <p>School England.</p> <p>Brother born Pakistan – sisters born England.</p> <p>Father employed until retirement, brother engineer, sisters married.</p> <p>Married. Children all left home and not in business.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>Worked with family friend in England – Edinburgh shop 25 years ago – 2<sup>nd</sup> shop after 10 years.</p> <p>Other business activities – property rental.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Wanted independence.</p> <p>Moved away from family restrictions.</p> <p>Learn from mistakes and never take big financial risk.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Business opportunities not as good – increased regulation.</p> <p>2<sup>nd</sup> shop OK as Post Office in poorer area with business from benefits etc – future threats as system changes.</p> <p>Few race issues in Edinburgh – good links between ethnic and mainstream communities.</p> <p>Less openings in England but smaller Edinburgh community means more interference as everyone knows each other's business.</p> <p>Staff can be problem – uses known locals.</p> <p>Would go into business if starting again but not retail.</p> <p>Research and education waste of time – experience is best.</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Family finance for 1<sup>st</sup> shop – expanded when chance came along.</p> <p>Guided by friend into initial business opening.</p> <p>Uses family and local staff to reduce potential racism issues and language barriers.</p> <p>Use community networks in early stages of business (retail and other) then develop own contacts from wider background.</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>No family members involved in shop business (not sure of property involvement).</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>No option – approached but not interested – not topic for discussion (led to termination of conversation).</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>Area now under redevelopment but owns only local business – intends to set up in shop unit when building etc complete.</p>

## Interview 17

<b>Personal background</b>	<p>Age 47.</p> <p>Family construction business in Pakistan – extended family Edinburgh and Leeds.</p> <p>Education Pakistan – degree in accountancy – joined uncle in Leeds age 25 - 5 years with uncle – 4 years own shop – 14 years Edinburgh.</p> <p>Married – wife with Pakistan family business background – 4 children all still in school.</p>
<b>Business background</b>	<p>3 shops and fruit delivery/wholesale business with brother.</p> <p>Family business background Pakistan and England.</p> <p>Pattern of nephews joining uncles to gain experience then opening own businesses.</p> <p>Edinburgh seen as opportunity to start family chain away from uncle - white owners exiting sector and few Pakistani families to take over – not same openings now.</p> <p>Started fruit business to get better supplies for own 3 shops then expanded.</p> <p>Plan for business to stay until children finish school then exit shops but keep other business activities.</p>
<b>Motivational factors</b>	<p>Business seen as good chance and opportunity.</p> <p>Being own boss preferred and education vital for best opportunities. Wants to be seen as good business owner rather than Pakistani shop owner.</p>
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	<p>Business approach strongly influenced by family tradition and behaviour.</p> <p>Close community links but not too much interference.</p> <p>Small community better as more opportunities to mix in with locals – helps reduce racial tensions and get more customers.</p>
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	<p>Access to sector through family connections and experience - brother and both wives involved in shops.</p> <p>Openings available when sector not interesting to mainstream business owners.</p> <p>Responsibility to help community but cannot afford time away from business.</p> <p>Uses banks for finance but business advice too slow and expensive and out of touch with sector needs.</p>
<b>Succession planning</b>	<p>Came to business as family tradition - style learnt from uncle and cousins. Son not interested in business at moment (still at school) but businesses will continue with older relatives.</p> <p>Family will take care of each other even if not involved in shops.</p>
<b>Symbol groups</b>	<p>Not interested as take away independence – works for some in image, merchandising etc but only if suits customers.</p> <p>3 shops in same family can give good bulk buying prices.</p>
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	<p>Business continues in same format and locations.</p>

## Interview 18

<b>Personal background</b>	Age 40. Family Pakistan – Huddersfield factory – ice cream van - brother Edinburgh – family followed in 1980. Pakistan – UK after school age 18 to Edinburgh 1980. 4 brothers all in Edinburgh shops. Married – children all in school (oldest 13).
<b>Business background</b>	Family businesses throughout Edinburgh – current business 10 years – all small shops run by family on shift basis. Wider family business activity in Edinburgh. Other business activity included property development but shops provide regular income.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	Likes being own boss. Business limited by influence of Islam. Need support from family – problem of finding others to rely on. Key to success is hard work and patience.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Business development restricted as refusal to sell alcohol – all shops are newsagents with limited grocery. Strong family influence on business and personal decisions. No real race issues in Edinburgh. Business likely to continue unless better opportunities come along.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Opportunity and expectation to join family business on arrival from Pakistan. Use family resources to man all shops. Rely on family in shops and cousins in wider business activities. Diversification seen as way round increasing pressure on shops.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Better if children go into professions but shops there if needed as better to have something of your own than work for others.
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Family considered group membership but charges were deterrent. Newsagent focus of businesses limits interest in grocery lines and personal beliefs rule out expanding to include off-licence so little attraction to groups. Current business has no local competition for newsagent sales but faces changes due to hospital closure and wait for new development to be completed.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	Still micro c-store and family chain of similar businesses. See no problems continuing in same approach.

## Interview 19

<b>Personal background</b>	Age 35 - 40 Born Luton – Edinburgh age 17. Family Pakistan – Luton – Edinburgh. Older brother, younger brother and sister. School Luton – planned A levels but changed mind when father made move to Edinburgh. Married, no children.
<b>Business background</b>	Family in retail since move to Scotland – family all involved in shops in Edinburgh for 18 years.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	Got stuck in for good of family. Father's limited options and family encouragement prompted business entry – own plans put aside for family. Happier working alone – control over activities – naturally lazy so not work for others. Opportunities to be taken or lost – likes freedom – loyalty to family important. Self-employment gives better lifestyle – decision for father's business entry and strong influence on next generation.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Business affected by previous owners being hard act to follow – took time. Wife more business like and tidy – sees improvement for her involvement – not so lazy now. Need to balance belief and business practice – alcohol, magazines etc. Differences between British and Asian Pakistanis. Business key is attitude to customers and others.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Access to ownership through family and community networks – family all involved – use family labour, finance and skills but businesses now divided to ease problems as father retired – two shops in same area allows shared customer base, opening hours and stock purchasing. Need to balance belief and business practice less problem for some more settled migrants. Father's ideas followed – older brother listened to as eldest in family although less experience in shops.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Family business will stay in family – no children but brothers/sister etc families will be more involved. Ideal to own business but let out to manager and share profits as next generation see other opportunities in life – other family shop gone to brother-in-law recently (9 yrs) migrant from Pakistan – shops still good opportunity for new migrants with limited finance and language options.
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Possibly only way to survive longer term but involves financial outlay. Better to lift ideas and make family deals with cash and carry, wholesalers etc as buying between number of shops – brothers ideas and advice followed.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	Little evidence of planned development but shop still doing well – wife involved.



## Interview 20

<b>Personal background</b>	Age 45 – 50. Born Pakistan – Luton age 10 – Edinburgh 1986, age 30. School Luton – evening class maths. Parent, 2 brother, 1 sister and extended family Edinburgh. Married – 3 daughters 7, 15, 18.
<b>Business background</b>	School – lorry driver – father business start up so followed to Edinburgh and shop since 1986 – 3 family shops. Owns other shop now rented out – plans to develop property and mortgage business activities. Accountancy interest – does books for family shops.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	Pride in family success although hard work in shops. Family loyalty more important than financial gain. Enjoys job – like excitement of new ventures – learning fun and challenging. Family move always to better lifestyle. Not prepared to take big risks – cautious nature – not prepared to commit everything simply for sake of dream – must be sound business idea as well as personal interest.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Good English key to life now – stressed for children. Issues are small business rather than Asian. Moral concerns over alcohol sales – pressure from religious leaders initially but service to customers and income higher priority – not in position to be so choosy. Self is biggest asset to business – friendly manner essential but need business skills to really succeed. Future for shops limited by competition – problems of lack of time off - shop gives financial security as own premises.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Family finance and staff – takes control because eldest son. Business entry and style learned from extended family and existing networks on move to Edinburgh. Wife involved in shop but never left alone. Community support and advice not used – conflict over alcohol caused problems for new family in Edinburgh.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Children to have careers they want – youngest very ambitious and business minded. Family diversifying away from shops into other self-employment but also seeking careers employed in other sectors.
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Would be expensive and limit ability to respond to customer requests – knows customer profile and purchasing patterns. Prefer to develop own links with suppliers – changes to shop planned.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	Shop main business activity but developing other interests (would not say what as ‘in early stages’).

## Interview 21

<b>Personal background</b>	Married Pakistan – Edinburgh to join wife’s extended family – migration arranged by in-laws after marriage and birth of first child in Edinburgh. Daughter 9, son 7.
<b>Business background</b>	Lived and worked Leith in brother-in-law shop 7 years on migration. Own shop 2 years. Father-in-law works part time to help with business – passed on when took semi-retirement. Wife’s 3 brothers all in shops in Edinburgh.
<b>Motivational factors</b>	No option due to lack of education and financial need – family connections made migration possible so must work for/with extended family. Victim of armed attack – wants out of shop – scared when alone – no alternative. Wife rather be at home with children but helps in shop -hoping to get opportunity for training and alternative employment. Pride in well run shop – likes independence but both feel trapped.
<b>Individual perceptions</b>	Family responsibilities reduce options for risk taking – would be different if single man and had qualifications. Would return to peace in Pakistan if had money – problem for children born UK to go to Asian culture. Problem with sale of alcohol but follows family influence – questions impact on personal life as others progressing without need to sell alcohol while they seem to get nowhere, businesses started not good, no holidays – personal problem. Problems are business not racial or personal. Sees shop as typically Asian – competing on convenience and service rather than price and range.
<b>Ethnic strategies</b>	Follows family business approach – no choice as migration due to extended family influence. Relies on family for staff, stock, finance, language help and contacts. Would like to do things differently – claims to be independent but restricted by influence of father-in-law on daily basis and brothers-in-law more generally. Defers to oldest brother-in-law – copies ideas – would not use other sources of help or information.
<b>Succession planning</b>	Would not like to see children end up in shops.
<b>Symbol groups</b>	Differing approaches needed to variety of customers in family shops due to location – always need to improve but family not formal group – too much paperwork and financial management for same profits not worth the extra work.
<b>Follow-up observation</b>	More independent of family now father-in-law dead.

#### **Appendix 4: Summary of findings for interview topics.**

The following tables summarise the response of each respondent to the interview topics, and are included to assist in developing an audit trail as part of the internal and external validity and reliability process discussed in Chapter 2: Methodology and Methods.

Table 4.1 Topic 1 Personal background – summary by interview

Table 4.2.1 Topic 2 Business background – summary by interview part 1

Table 4.2.2 Topic 2 business background – summary by interview part 2

Table 4.3.1 Topic 3 Motivation – summary by interview part 1

Table 4.3.2 Topic 3 Motivation – summary by interview part 2

Table 4.4.1 Topic 4 Individual perceptions – summary by interview part 1

Table 4.4.2 Topic 4 Individual perceptions – summary by interview part 2

Table 4.5.1 Topic 5 Ethnic strategies – summary by interview part 1

Table 4.5.2 Topic 5 Ethnic strategies – summary by interview part 2

Table 4.6 Topic +1 Generational issues – summary by interview

Table 4.7 Topic +1 Attitude to symbol group – summary by interview

Table 4.8 Follow-up visit – summary by interview



**Table A 4.1: Topic 1 Personal Background - summary by interview**

<b>Int. No.</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Born (age to UK)</b>	<b>UK gen.</b>	<b>Formal education</b>	<b>Family</b>	<b>Residence pattern (parent's where applicable) (Sojourner attitude)</b>
<b>1</b>	50-55	Pakistan ~ 20	1 <sup>st</sup>	None	Married 2 children (1+1)	Pakistan - London – Edinburgh (stay)
<b>2</b>	50-55	Pakistan 17	1 <sup>st</sup>	None	Married 2 sons, 3 grandchildren (2+1) Family in Glasgow, London	Pakistan - London - Glasgow – Edinburgh (stay)
<b>3</b>	35-40	Pakistan 10	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Edinburgh P6-S6 Computer studies, electronics Interpreting qualification	Married 2 children (1+1) brother + sister (Edinburgh + Pakistan) parents Edinburgh	Pakistan - Edinburgh - Pakistan – Edinburgh (Pakistan - Edinburgh - Pakistan - Edinburgh) (stay)
<b>4</b>	34	Manchester	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Edinburgh S1-6	Married 3 children (2+1) 2 sisters, parents Edinburgh	Manchester - Edinburgh - Pakistan – Edinburgh (Pakistan - Manchester) (stay)
<b>5</b>	40-45	Pakistan 13	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Edinburgh S3-5	Married 2 children, sister + brother (Scotland and Pakistan) parents Edinburgh	Pakistan – Edinburgh (Pakistan - Edinburgh - Scotland - Edinburgh) (stay)
<b>6</b>	40-45	Pakistan 12	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Edinburgh S2-6	Married 2 children brother Edinburgh mother Edinburgh - father dead 25 years	Pakistan – Edinburgh (Pakistan - Dundee + Aberdeen - Edinburgh) (stay)

<b>7</b>	30-35	Huddersfield	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Huddersfield and Edinburgh to S6 Electrical engineering	Married 2 children brother + sister Edinburgh parents Edinburgh	Huddersfield – Edinburgh (Pakistan - Huddersfield) (stay)
<b>8</b>	35-40	Pakistan ~ 5	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Bradford to age 16 Technical college 1 year	Married 3 children 2 brothers (Edinburgh + Bradford) parents Bradford	Pakistan - Bradford – Edinburgh (Pakistan - Bradford) (go – stay)
<b>9</b>	55-60	Pakistan 18	1 <sup>st</sup>	None	Married 2 sons uncle and family Wishaw	Kashmir - Wishaw - Livingston – Edinburgh (stay)
<b>10</b>	55-60	Pakistan ~ 25	1 <sup>st</sup>	Education in Pakistan Came to UK to study but took other option	Married 3 children (1+2) all adult Edinburgh family connections Manchester	Pakistan - Manchester - Edinburgh - Pakistan – Edinburgh (stay)
<b>11</b>	62	India 22	1 <sup>st</sup>	Electrician in Pakistan Bradford University - incomplete degree	Married 4 children (2+2) all Edinburgh girls + 1 son married - children son at college 4 brothers Pakistan	India - Pakistan - Bradford – Edinburgh (stay)
<b>12</b>	~ 40	Pakistan ~ 8	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Dundee to S6 Apprentice boilermaker	Married 3 sons twin Edinburgh (2+1 children) 4 brothers - Pakistan 5 sisters - 1 Ireland, 4 Pakistan parents Pakistan	(Pakistan - Bristol - Accrington - Dundee - Pakistan) Pakistan - Bristol - Accrington - Dundee – Edinburgh (stay)
<b>13</b>	52	India ~ 22	1 <sup>st</sup>	BSc Delhi	Married 2 sons Edinburgh	India - Pakistan - Wolverhampton – Edinburgh (stay)

<b>14</b>	25	Broxburn	3 <sup>rd</sup>	Newcastle to S6 Motor mechanic	Parents in Edinburgh Sister born Huddersfield Uncles and cousins Edinburgh	Broxburn - Gateshead - Newcastle – Edinburgh (Pakistan - Huddersfield - Broxburn - Gateshead - Newcastle - Edinburgh) (stay)
<b>15</b>	51	Pakistan 14	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Huddersfield to age 15 Apprentice in factory HND	Married 1 son in business, 1 daughter at university 1 brother, 4 sisters, parents UK	Pakistan - Huddersfield - Whitburn - Newcastle – Edinburgh (Pakistan - Huddersfield - Edinburgh) (stay)
<b>16</b>	45 - 50	Pakistan 15	2 <sup>nd</sup>	England to age 16	Married 3 children all left home Brother, sister, parents UK	Pakistan - England – Edinburgh (Pakistan - England) (stay)
<b>17</b>	47	Pakistan 24	1 <sup>st</sup>	Pakistan Degree in accountancy	Married 4 children (1+3) a Extended family Edinburgh and Leeds Parents Pakistan	Pakistan - Leeds – Edinburgh (stay)
<b>18</b>	40	Pakistan 18	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Pakistan	Married 3 children all in school 4 brothers, parents, extended family Edinburgh and UK	Pakistan – Edinburgh (Pakistan - Huddersfield - Edinburgh) (stay)
<b>19</b>	~ 35	Luton	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Luton to age 18	Married - no children 2 brothers + 1 sister Parents, extended family Edinburgh and UK	Luton - Edinburgh (Wester Hailes - Leith) (Pakistan - Luton - Edinburgh) (stay)
<b>20</b>	~ 45	Pakistan 9	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Luton to age 16 'O' level maths evening classes	Married 3 girls (7, 15, 18) parents, 2 brothers, 1 sister, extended family Edinburgh	Pakistan - Luton - Edinburgh (Pakistan - Luton - Edinburgh) (stay)
<b>21</b>	30 - 35	Pakistan ~25	1 <sup>st</sup>	Pakistan	Married, 1 boy, 1 girl In-laws Edinburgh	Pakistan – Edinburgh (go)

**Table A 4.2.1: Topic 2 Business Background - summary by interview part 1**

<b>Int. no.</b>	<b>Experience</b>	<b>Business entry decision</b>	<b>Family business activity</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Business Age</b>	<b>Growth pattern</b>
<b>1</b>	Worked for community member - own business for 25-30 years	Experience gained - take ongoing opportunities	Restaurant and retail (London)	Leith	5	Pattern of development and then move on
<b>2</b>	Gained experience with family for 3 years - own business	Encouraged by family to branch out	Self-employed - restaurant, shops	Gorgie	20	Gradual expansion - diversify - expand more rapidly
<b>3</b>	Experience in family business - developed own after period of employment and number of failed business ventures	Aware of gaps in services offered and desire for self-employment to prove it possible	Father retired on sale of shop Brother independent travel agent	Leith	4	Work alone - expand services offered - contract out work
<b>4</b>	Worked with father from age 7 - responsible from 13. Took increased responsibility and diversified into other sectors	Shared family aim to make money and keep it in the family	Father in range of business activity individual and partnerships - retail, wholesale, service, property, construction	Portobello	20	Varied due to competition etc Closing / relocating imminent
<b>5</b>	30 years in this business - skills learned on the job	Business given as 'bad gift' by father so no option but to do it	None	Leith	30	Original business expanded and modernised
<b>6</b>	Worked with brother and father - own business	Opportunity to expand family business network	Property and retail	Goldenacre	15	Slow to establish - gradual development - symbol group



<b>7</b>	Work in family business 20 years - trained for alternative career - learned shop / business skills on job	Chose to join family business when father ill and alternative was to pay someone else or close the business	Property Retail	Stenhouse	7	Slow decline due to competition and lack of interest in development
<b>8</b>	Asian Trader Award with brother - worked for friend - own business	Took opportunity to gain independence and use talents for himself	Retail	Gorgie	8	Static but keeps aware of competition and responds as necessary
<b>9</b>	Worked with uncle - small business - shop - 2 shop + guest house - shop	Took opportunity presented in new housing development	Retail Food	Clovenstone	30	Varied - competition and demographics Gradual expansion - symbol group - independent – group
<b>10</b>	Construction in Pakistan - take away - shop - Edinburgh business ventures	To be independent and improve family status	Property Construction Retail	Portobello	20	Opens and closes businesses - move on and make as much money as possible. Current business about to close / relocate
<b>11</b>	Family tradition of business and property ownership	Work to provide for extended family then saved for business opportunity	All family in business in UK and Pakistan	Colinton	16	Revamped old family business to self service - continued expansion and modernisation
<b>12</b>	20+ years in business	Suggested by friend in similar business	Brother partner in business	Shandon	20+	Small shop then move opposite to lager premises
<b>13</b>	24 years in business	Failure to get work in engineering. Shop suggested by uncle in similar business	None	Polwarth	24	None
<b>14</b>	Family business 12 years	Parents help to be independent	Parent and family shops	Dalry	1	Improve premises

<b>15</b>	Variety of family and personal business ventures over 25+ yrs	Opportunity opened up so took chance	Father and son in businesses	Portobello	7	Gradual development
<b>16</b>	Worked with friend in England	Community member reported opportunity	None	Craigmillar	25+	Expanded to 2 shops on Scottish owner's retirement – now Post Office as well
<b>17</b>	Family pattern of gaining experience with family members	Opportunity to take over mainstream business	Widespread extended family business tradition	Broughton	15	Initial business developed then sold. Expansion to 3 shops and fruit delivery
<b>18</b>	Work with family on arrival from Pakistan	Add to family business network	Extended family wide range of small shops throughout city	Tollcross	10	None
<b>19</b>	Learned on the job	Link to father's plans following redundancy	Father semi-retired, brother and sister shops	Newhaven	16	None
<b>20</b>	Learned from father and brother	Joined family when new shop purchased	Father semi-retired, brother and sister shops	Bonnington	16	Gradual development
<b>21</b>	Work with father-in-law and wider family	Inherited ownership from father-in-law – no other options on immigration	In-laws shops in Edinburgh, family members shops in UK	Restalrig	2 (18)	Maintain business well established by father-in-law

**Table A 4.2.2: Topic 2 Business Background - summary by interview part 2**

<b>Int. no.</b>	<b>Other business activity</b>	<b>Employees</b>	<b>Business aims</b>	<b>Succession planning</b>
<b>1</b>	Owens / controls number of similar business	Co-ethnic	To build and become professional businesses	Train and encourage staff to open new businesses and retain stake in them
<b>2</b>	None	Co-ethnic, mainstream, family	Business in position to run itself for 100 years	Sons reluctantly involved - train staff to take over
<b>3</b>	None	Co-ethnic	To make a success after other failed ventures	Sons too young to think about business involvement - nephews encouraged to help
<b>4</b>	Retail, food and wine distribution, tanning studio, construction. Individual, partnership and family involvement	Family + co-ethnic / mainstream in other businesses	Pride in father's creation to be built on for children's benefit / development	Children still young and will have option to join business - 2 <sup>nd</sup> son being groomed already age 9
<b>5</b>	None	Family	Sell it off and retire as soon as possible	Actively discourage children to take over business - cannot sell until father no longer alive due to duty / responsibility as only son
<b>6</b>	Property	Family, friends, mainstream	To try to survive but sees no bright future but better than alternative of working for someone	Family still young - hopes to have something to pass on but would not encourage retail sector - no future in current business
<b>7</b>	Property Retail	Family + mainstream when needed	To get out and develop other business activity as this is way of making a living rather than a real business	Children too young to think about it but would encourage career / self employment rather than small retail
<b>8</b>	None	Co-ethnic Family mainstream	Keep business going to cover financial needs and maintain independence	Family still too young to think about it but would discourage small retail but guide towards self-employment using money from this business

<b>9</b>	None	Family Mainstream	Would like to expand premises to give son more space to develop ideas	Son now involved and increasingly taking over in preparation for retirement - still involved but handing over responsibility as son develops business skills to match enthusiasm now in business after failing to take opportunity to make alternative career
<b>10</b>	Property Construction	Family Co-ethnic	To make money - shop to close as no longer viable - other businesses continue / expand / diversify / close / relocate as necessary	Shop handed over to son (4). Business empire is family concern and gradually all passing to son and hopefully grandson (4). Expects business ventures to survive and expand in future generations to build on status in community.
<b>11</b>	None - other shops sold before current business opened	Family, mainstream	Aim for chain of shops restricted due to health problems	Sons to continue as they see best
<b>12</b>	None	Family	Do well for children and be good example of Muslim way of life	Children to develop other careers
<b>13</b>	None	Wife	Continue while health OK	Sons to get 'proper jobs'
<b>14</b>	None	Family	Try for 5 years then exit option	None
<b>15</b>	None	Family	To be in business in 10 years time	None – regrets son in own business
<b>16</b>	Property rental	Co-ethnic in shops, mainstream in PO	Survive redevelopment of area	None
<b>17</b>	None	Family, co-ethnic and mainstream	Exit when children complete education	Children to decide on business entry
<b>18</b>	Property development	Family	Continue family business activity	Family involvement – children young yet
<b>19</b>	None	Family, mainstream	Generate enough business to keep going	None
<b>20</b>	Business and property rental/leasing	Family	Centralise decision-making and purchasing for all 3 family shops	Plans to exit sector
<b>21</b>	None	Family	Be handy and give good service	None – family decisions will be made with Int 19 and 20

**Table A 4.3.1: Topic 3 Motivation - summary by interview part 1**

<b>Int. no</b>	<b>Choices</b>	<b>Options</b>	<b>Expectations</b>	<b>Pressures</b>	<b>Attitude to society / work ethic</b>
<b>1</b>	Set personal standards and work to meet them		Responsibility part of self-employment		Need to contribute to society
<b>2</b>	Self-employment way to meet personal goals	Accept challenge or compromise standards and ambitions	Aware of need to make sacrifices to succeed		Help to move towards inclusive society where all business is seen as mainstream
<b>3</b>	Choices available to younger son not there for brother	Opportunity to do what was preferred to use skills	Need for talents to make most of opportunity	Parental aspirations for better things for sons	Try to improve acceptability of ethnic communities
<b>4</b>	No choice – initial disinterest – more interest as more involved	None – worked with father from age 7 and responsibility from 13 Always been in family business	Wanted challenge of hard work to earn rewards	Expected to take on business as only son and first child	Work to raise family profile and lasting business empire
<b>5</b>	No choice – business was gift from father on leaving school Preferred choice to working with others	Not easy to work with others Dragged in to business not possible to get out education is better option not allowed to be followed – but encouraged in next generation	Put up with situation and discourage children from retail business in future	Business given as gift to avoid family having to work for others Way of improving family status	Business can provide a service to the community
<b>6</b>	Wanted challenge Sees both good and bad sides of self-employment / working for someone else	Work for someone for more time / money OR have challenge to set and meet own goals Limited options as age increases	Hard work on your own and no time off etc but price worth paying for results	Had to do something to help family when father died so followed in family business Threat of changing business environment	Need to provide service Always willing to accept challenge and gamble with new ideas Example of father

<b>7</b>	Encouraged to further education but chose to enter business Follow in father's footsteps because family pattern	Self-employment / family business offers way of achieving better lifestyle Need to start at bottom and work up	Business should be hard work and develop - process of learning by experience to face challenges Will be hard to keep going when novelty wears off	Family illness and strain on human and financial resources Limited alternatives to self-employment due to colour	Only get what you want and improve status and lifestyle is through hard work Learn by experience
<b>8</b>	Hated school and business offered way out Choice of stay with friend or go it alone	Own business as way to start again and put past behind him	Saw business as way to make money Now self-employment gives freedom to balance work and family and not just focus on money	Anything was better than continued education and plenty of work available changed situation sees education as vital for children	Always give his best to what ever he is doing at that time Try to keep balance between business and family life as inter dependent
<b>9</b>	Wanted to get out of first business	Work for family and money goes to them – work for yourself and you benefit	Only make millions if you take big risks – not preferred way to go	Desire to stand alone financially Wants to see all family happy	Be financially independent and not look for handouts
<b>10</b>	Ambition drove decision to self-employment	Hard work is only answer to business and personal success	Hard work and element of luck	Pressure of own standards / goals that change with age and family commitments	Put community and wider family first Responsibility to look after less privileged
<b>11</b>	Needed to survive as refugees and rebuild family status.	Education is opening to opportunities – become self-made man	Education, hard work, honesty, independence, think things through before committing	Cultural heritage and religious responsibilities	Confidence in ability and decision + hard work = success Do what you say to be worthy of trust
<b>12</b>	Self employment offered better opportunities than working in industry	Working and living with brother gives better example of good Muslim way of life	Money not driving factor – more important to give children best opportunities and education	Tension between religious demands and expectations, and business choices	Stay true to beliefs, work hard and respect others more important than financial success
<b>13</b>	UK choices limited when job plans fell through	Joined uncle in shop rather than return to no work in India	Work until children all in good jobs and marriages	Conflict between shop opening demands and personal preference to be with family, particularly now grandparent	Likes independence and choice – being own boss more important than money

<b>14</b>	Prefers independence to working for others	Followed extended family business pattern	Knew it would not be easy option	Pressure of family expectations	
<b>15</b>	Own business as does not like being told what to do by boss	Chance to do something new with support of new wife	Element of luck in new business		Be prepared to give new things a try and change with the times
<b>16</b>	Job seemed restricting	Self-employment move away from family restrictions	Opportunity for independence		Learn from mistakes Never take too big financial risks
<b>17</b>	Good business proposition	Followed family pattern – gain experience then open own business	Business is chance and opportunity	Family employment tradition	Education vital for best future opportunities
<b>18</b>	Better to have something of your own than work in factory	Business lets you be your own boss	Need support from family – all in similar shops	Strong religious beliefs impact on stock, business approaches and female family involvement	Success comes through hard work and patience
<b>19</b>	Pulled into business by family start up venture	Education or join father	Make best of opportunities as in family example would be better than employment problems in Thatcher years	Own plans put to one side for sake of family future	Attitude to others and loyalty important Can be lazy but do things for good of family Success only comes through hard work
<b>20</b>	Stay in business out of loyalty to family rather than financial gain	Left employment when saw father and brother in business	Needs determination to tackle difficulties but likes challenge	Feels obliged to keep on top of brother to maintain pride in family standards and success	Cautious but determined nature. No big risks unless guarantee of success
<b>21</b>	No choice as no qualifications or skills	None – immigration, living and employment all through in-laws decision and help	Shops = problems in experience of family and friends	Father and brothers-in-law set business approach and demands Wife wants larger role in business decision and operation	Do not try to compete but be handy and give good service

**Table A 4.3.2: Topic 3 Motivation - summary by interview part 2**

Int. no	Inspiration	Desire for independence	Need for achievement
1		You have to be yourself	Proud of success
2		Wants to go it alone and face all challenges	Loyalty to business rather than simply money
3	Self-made Asians	Satisfaction in making success of own business after working for others	Show family personal success is possible Always socially / politically active
4	Richard Branson	Enjoys increasing challenge as father withdraws from business Developing business empire independent of existing family activity Never thought of working for someone else	Important to succeed and expand or drop business and move on if not doing well Thrive on increasing challenge in new ventures The more involved the more enjoyable life is
5		Better to be independent, have your own place and do what you feel is best for you and your business	Anyone who emigrates wants to improve standard of living and economic status Need to attain better life for family and future generations
6	Anyone who has worked for what they have got	Prefer to be own boss opportunities to make something of challenges Ability to change and gamble	Had to succeed as family in UK and difficult to go back to P Need to have challenge but pleased with achievement
7	Those who have made it themselves not just inherited it	Would not want to work for anyone Avoid symbol group as take away total control	Proud of family achievements Individual goal to better himself through hard work
8	People who start from nothing - people recognised in the community	Strongly independent and prepared to compromise to remain own boss Always prepared to see way round problems Always give his best to what ever he is doing Always willing to learn and face challenge	Driven by business greed and enthusiasm to be recognised in South Asian and wider Edinburgh community – business award Determination to succeed Proud of family and personal business success Had determination and drive to achieve great things but now happy with family life and less business activity
9		Working for yourself gives better opportunities to make and save money Strong drive to keep busy and hands on involvement even though semi-retired and son taking over soon	Prefer to concentrate on 1 good business than 3 average ones Not wanting to take big risks but do small things well



10	Robert Maxwell, before he let it go to his head and became evil and corrupt	Fiercely independent and ambitious all life – business and personal	Set own standards and goals to be achieved at stages of life and would not compromise Development of business empire for future generations No question of family not following into businesses and continuing to expand
11	Family tradition	Do not trust others but show respect	Proud of success and achievements – important to be trustworthy and stick to rules, decisions and responsibilities.
12	Example of parents doing all possible for family	Financial independence important but linked to brother (twins) Education best way for children in future careers	Family and social issues more important achievement than financial success
13		Important to be own boss and be with family rather than work longer hours	Not bothered about financial success – achievement is seeing family educated and happy
14		Self-employment better Symbol groups reduce decision-making freedom	Family expectation to work hard
15		Once decision made, get on with it	Important to be part of the local community
16		Business was opportunity for independence from family and tradition	
17		Would not like to work for someone else Being own boss gives independence and maximises family profits	Desire to be seen as successful business owner rather than Pakistani shop owner
18		Be your own boss Education important but better to have a small business than work for others	Benefits are more than simply financial achievements
19		Prefers working alone No benefit seen in working for others or having someone giving orders	Business ownership gives opportunities for family improvement and better lifestyle Grab chances as they come – family now improved but education is great achievement
20		Gave up job to start business Would not do same again	Enjoyment more important than simply financial success Family pride and improved status important
21		Would like to have control of business but tied to family	Business meets pressure to maintain family

**Table A 4.3.3: Topic 3 Motivation - summary by interview part 3**

<b>Int. no</b>	<b>Needs priorities</b>	<b>Tradition vs individual ambition</b>
<b>1</b>	Find / make a place in society	Business, religion and community inter-linked
<b>2</b>	To establish family name To keep involved at ground level to ensure standards	Want to make good life in UK rather than tradition of work to return self or money to Pakistan
<b>3</b>	Wants personal and family financial success Needs to be of help in society through business	Less family responsibility and more freedom to choose as second son
<b>4</b>	Make money Build family and individual name and reputation Needs ongoing challenge and change to avoid boredom	Took traditional role of only son willingly Limited own plans for education and career options to develop family business Children will have more choice but underlying potential for conflict
<b>5</b>	Work hard to earn money to improve family situation	Had other ambitions but did what father wanted Too late to change now but will discourage children from following Business exit not option due to traditional responsibility and 'gift'
<b>6</b>	To provide for family To stay being own boss To change and be continually challenged	Sees changing trend for next generations – different motivation and wants leading to less involvement in family businesses
<b>7</b>	To be a financial success, improve family status, develop business empire, maintain better lifestyle To create business for children other than shop	Family self-employment tradition / limited alternatives Potential for conflict between cultural / religious requirements and goal of making money
<b>8</b>	Initial drive and vision lessened after family split Not so driven by business - Content to maintain lifestyle Important to have sufficient financial resources to maintain balance between family status / lifestyle and enjoyment of challenge of work Has become lazy with changing priorities but happy with change	Business opportunities changed due to conflict with tradition and cultural requirements of obeying family demands leading to split Now reconciled but still underlying issue in need to prove what he can do
<b>9</b>	Financial independence Family happiness Continued involvement as has will to work Focus on skills available rather than business that needs strong management skills not part of nature	Followed family advice and example then moved on to take individual approach / decisions Take best business decision not guided by religion / culture in stock etc

<b>10</b>	Need to prove himself to others Financial position and status in community for himself Security of financial future for children an increasing motivation as getting older Community recognition / involvement in Edinburgh South Asian, mainstream and home community in Pakistan	Tradition challenged development of personal goals and ambitions Culture / religion dictates behaviour to others, attitudes and use of money Potential for conflict as son increases personal business activity and father has less control
<b>11</b>	To own land To be educated To make the most of what you can do To be independent	Goals driven by tradition and family background Guided by religion but not slave to it Determination to succeed but not at any cost
<b>12</b>	Family security and opportunities Live good Muslim life Follow conscience and show respect to all Enjoy life	Demands of culture and tradition same as personal aims and approaches
<b>13</b>	Independence Family	Does what he wants even of not best business practice
<b>14</b>	Being own boss	Follow family traditions
<b>15</b>	Always keep learning Improve family status	No conflict if open-minded and willing to change with the times
<b>16</b>	Independence and freedom	Personal ambition in contrast to family tradition
<b>17</b>	Independence Family profit	Wants to be regarded as businessman first, Pakistani second
<b>18</b>	To be independent To keep religious demands To give children best opportunities	Business approach and development limited by Muslim restriction in stock, finance and female family involvement
<b>19</b>	Freedom and independence Family lifestyle	Family influence strong – father and brother influence decision making Limited personal ambition – wife is driving force to improvements in business
<b>20</b>	Family opportunities and options Challenge in work	Followed father's lead – now makes decisions as oldest son Personal conflict over alcohol – but stocked as what customers want
<b>21</b>	Family security Personal safety	Ambition restricted by family involvement – father-in-law still involved in operation, brother-in-law makes strategic decisions – has to obey as youngest and migrant

**Table A 4.4.1: Topic 4 Individual Perceptions - summary by interview part 1**

<b>Int. no</b>	<b>Family influences</b>	<b>Community influences</b>
<b>1</b>	Conflict of western culture and Muslim family discipline Influence lessening as integration with mainstream community increases	Strong links within small minority community Strong community and cultural influences on business activity Pressure within community to conform to standards of behaviour both personal and business activity
<b>2</b>	Strong family influence from parents disappointment that sons not taking family business example and opportunity Hope that family influence will prevail after trying wider world opportunities	Changing attitude throughout community that very few children are choosing to work in traditional family business setting Limited community influence on business decision although went against norm Respected for strong, lasting decisions and commitment to wider community issues rather than only family focus of activity
<b>3</b>	Family support and encouragement for individual business Family encouragement to do something alternative to just entering existing business (now sold) Family support and resources when other business ventures failed and in initial start up phase Family attitude changing over generations – 1 <sup>st</sup> wanted to go back to Pakistan – 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> see Edinburgh as home and Pakistan as holiday Changing attitude to involvement in family run businesses but still preference for self-employment	Good links with South Asian community through non-business activity Similar links with local community Feels as much part of Edinburgh community as ethnic minority Brother had more limited opportunities and alternatives when family business still open as 1 <sup>st</sup> son Less responsibilities and more freedom for 2 <sup>nd</sup> son Business attitude inspired by example of successful community business owner
<b>4</b>	Family and tradition dictate business entry decision Family influences business advice taken and given Sees tradition less strong in next generation eg role of wife and sisters in employment Changing range of options for children but still family expectations of wealth generation and provision for all generations as needed Mother plays traditional role as house organiser and guides adherence to religion and individual freedoms	Traditional influences of religion and culture expressed in ethnic community Refers to being part of local community more than ethnic group choices limited by traditional responsibilities of 1 <sup>st</sup> and only son Religious practice at root of family approach to business and life but not strong enough to affect merchandise / female roles etc

5	<p>Father made business entry decision before family came from Pakistan</p> <p>Business was gift that could not be turned down</p> <p>Own career options had to be put aside to do what family and tradition demanded of only son</p> <p>Family help and guidance biggest influence on business approach – still influences exit strategy</p>	<p>Used to Edinburgh way of life, standards etc after 30 years</p> <p>Children part of Scottish community more than see themselves as Pakistani</p> <p>South Asian community not an influence – more response to Edinburgh attitudes etc</p> <p>Conforms to traditional responsibilities of 1<sup>st</sup> son to respect father's wishes – will not be an issue for next generation as integrated into local life to make best of opportunities available</p>
6	<p>Influenced by father's attitude to business</p> <p>Brother took on head of family role when father died and still influences / involved in business activity</p> <p>Responsibility to do something to help wider family as well as wife and children influenced business start up decision</p> <p>Wider options available to next generations</p>	<p>Religious restrictions on alcohol and meat products put aside to provide necessary service to customers</p> <p>Changing attitude within community to compete in business</p> <p>Moves to more information sharing within ethnic business community to enhance opportunities for all</p>
7	<p>Less influence of family shop involvement and expectation to follow in parents footsteps</p> <p>Example of father's business success encouraged self-employment out of shop sector</p> <p>Example gave good base for approach when coming in to shop to build on wider experience</p>	<p>Tension between personal and business ethics eg alcohol and meat products</p> <p>Have to compromise between religious and community attitudes and standards in order to live, work, make money and improve social status in society with differing values and moral codes</p>
8	<p>Family influence on business entry decision - father vs brother – father + brother – father – wife</p> <p>Wife and children influence extent of business involvement and expectations of income and time</p>	<p>Involved and accepted in local community</p> <p>South Asian community influence / involvement to overcome settlement problems for wife – same as for mother in previous generation</p> <p>Conflict between tradition / religion / culture and good business practice eg alcohol, working women, meat products</p>
9	<p>Example of uncle in business</p> <p>Came to UK to work for family business</p> <p>Took initial business advice from family members</p> <p>1<sup>st</sup> son expected to take on business after failing to do anything else</p> <p>2<sup>nd</sup> son tried business but opted for education and career</p> <p>Family influence to move towards retirement</p>	<p>Business approach influenced by changes in local community</p> <p>Business feels part of local community as all moved in together</p> <p>Well known and liked by locals</p> <p>Local, community support as long as providing service</p> <p>Interaction / support with South Asian community via business links eg cash and carry</p> <p>Not dependent on ethnic community as in UK for long time and has own family and local support</p>

<b>10</b>	<p>Influenced by father's approach to business and attitude to family money</p> <p>Father's influence to learn from others and succeed through hard work</p> <p>Son had to follow in to family business but more open attitude to daughters and grandchildren (see 4)</p> <p>Example of wider family involvement in making money and using it for family security first and wider local and ethnic community second</p>	<p>Strong influence of Muslim faith and related demands for ethical behaviour, respect and consideration for others</p> <p>Important to be true to beliefs in business approach and family and social behaviour</p> <p>Involvement in local community as well as South Asian</p> <p>Provides lead and links between groups to improve understanding and reduce tension</p> <p>Involved as JP and local community representative</p>
<b>11</b>	<p>Family influence and tradition to leave education and work to support wider family – move to business ownership to meet demands of 'name' and traditional status</p> <p>Tradition to send money home to keep younger sons in education</p> <p>Strong sense of responsibility to parents and loyalty to mother</p>	<p>Conflict between personal and community/religious leaders' views</p> <p>Strong influence of personal beliefs in business approach</p>
<b>12</b>	<p>Joint enterprise with twin brother encouraged by father and family friends</p> <p>Reliance on close family resources and skills</p>	<p>Driven by personal beliefs – finance, stock, traditional cultural attitude to female involvement (gradually changing)</p>
<b>13</b>	<p>Business entry and training via uncle</p> <p>Strong family influence on business hours, holidays and future development plans</p> <p>No intention of future generation involvement following education</p>	<p>Community social support not business</p>
<b>14</b>	<p>Strong family influence in business entry decision</p> <p>Reliance on family finance and business advice of father and uncle</p>	<p>Little community influence – regards himself as Scottish not Pakistani</p>
<b>15</b>	<p>Family tradition of business ownership – this location chosen to suit children's education – sector recommended by experience of friends</p>	<p>Integrated into local mainstream business and residential communities as live locally to business</p> <p>Sees himself and family as British</p>
<b>16</b>	<p>No family business involvement</p> <p>Family links seen as essential to enter sector in larger communities in England</p>	<p>Small Edinburgh Pakistani community - tendency to interfere – everyone knows your business</p> <p>Good links with local community and ethnic minority groups in city</p>

<b>17</b>	Business involvement and approach strongly influenced by family tradition and behaviour Business skills helped by family business background and education	Close community links but not too much interference – more of a factor in larger minority communities
<b>18</b>	Strong family influence on move to UK and c-store involvement Business family and family businesses Expectation of next generation involvement	Strong influence of Islam on business – stock, finance, approach to customers, future developments
<b>19</b>	Family situation triggered move to Edinburgh and c-store involvement High dependence on extended family on start-up and father and older brother on day-to-day basis Prepared to work for good of family instead of preferred career choice Recent improvements due to increased involvement of wife in running of business	Strong family religious beliefs – personal code of conduct rather than extreme views Business influenced by need to make sales/profits not moral issues (alcohol, pornography etc) Problems with community leaders on move to Edinburgh but develop own attitude and business approach
<b>20</b>	Father and younger brother experience in Edinburgh c-stores before rest of family moved from England Father semi-retired so makes decisions as oldest son – strong influence on brother and brother-in-law	Resisted pressure from Muslim community leaders over stock, finance etc on move to Edinburgh Sees double standards as donations to mosque accepted from profits of alcohol sales and individuals started out in similar situations – would not sell some goods and products to eliminate personal tensions if financially viable
<b>21</b>	Family sponsorship for migration, residence and economic activity Asks older brother-in-law for advice out of respect Relies on father-in-law for day-to-day help and inherited reputation when took over business Maintaining family reputation is good business strategy	Businesses all family concerns and limited community influences Personal conflict of Muslim values and necessary business approaches – sees cousins not selling alcohol doing better than those ignoring religious demands Problems of cultural differences between Asian and European life

**Table A 4.4.2: Topic 4 Individual Perceptions - summary by interview part 2**

<b>Int. no</b>	<b>Racial issues and constraints</b>	<b>Business success – potential, realistic, reason for difference</b>
<b>1</b>	Improved language skills over generations reduce tension – individual and community wide Potential for increased tension post Sept 11 due to misunderstanding of culture Always will meet some personal racist feeling but not on large scale in Edinburgh due to settlement patterns throughout city and small size of community	Staff costs are biggest restriction Too much bureaucracy for small businesses Amount of institutional racism limits ethnic community success
<b>2</b>	Concern of increased impact of racial issues particularly since Sept 11 Impact of individual attitudes on individuals, business and community as a whole Not great issue in Edinburgh and personally not issue as seen as having good relationship / integration with mainstream	Main restriction is lack of obvious succession plan Tight personal control not willing to adapt to training successor and sons not interested Plenty of opportunities if willing to take them
<b>3</b>	Limited personal racism experienced – possibly due to light skin tone Underlying institutional racism Good personal relationships with local community developed over years of residence and involvement in both mainstream and community issues since school days	Success depends on public policy and finance Important factor is that business activity meets personal satisfaction levels Needs to feel challenged and see business aims being met and extended Biggest threat is exceeding personal business and skill ability
<b>4</b>	Initial local community attitudes to immigrants changed over years No racial problems possibly due to long residence in area, involvement in schools etc Community involvement in business activity and loyalty to area and customers creates good relationship and reduces potential for racial tension Problems less in Edinburgh possibly due to small numbers and absence of concentrations of population Attack on Mosque after Sept 11 seen as work of minority always present in any group of people rather than personal attack or widespread intolerance	Advantage of being brought up in business as pick up skills as you go is better than learning theory Potential depends on sheer hard work Business limitation is family manpower Although personal challenge is important to keep interest in any one particular business the overall aim is to make money Get rid of bad business or sell good business on for profit and take up challenge of something new Conflict between good business practice and sentimental attachment to long standing centre of family business empire diversifying range of business sectors will reduce impact of competition / downturns in any one sector to maximise potential for future family success



5	<p>Racial issues of sheer ignorance and lack of understanding of different cultures</p> <p>View that Asian business get tax help causes jealousy through misunderstanding</p>	<p>Increased competition means threat to traditional Asian business increasing</p> <p>Personal aim to retire and for children not to take over business limits business potential</p> <p>No future in sector as too many shops in area</p> <p>Possible business developments influenced by plan to retire as soon as family and cultural traditions etc allow</p>
6	<p>Asians have to work harder to succeed</p> <p>Took time to establish business even though previous experience</p> <p>Image of badly kept corner shops seen as Asian issue but is really generic</p>	<p>Business potential limited by size</p> <p>Business expansion limited by economies of scale and local demographics – elderly population do not want multiple offers, large packets etc</p> <p>Benefit of being in symbol group to overcome being just another Asian shop</p> <p>No bright future for this particular business due to competition for wealthy, elderly customers and little other trade due to local economic downturn</p>
7	<p>Racial issues in gaining alternative employment</p> <p>Not so much tension in Edinburgh as in other parts of UK but getting worse</p> <p>Racial issues act as incentive to work hard and improve personal situation</p> <p>Racial issues seen as general not specific to Pakistani community or individuals</p>	<p>Shop dying due to increased expenses, competition and rules and regulations</p> <p>Problem of altered customer behaviour and need to adapt stock etc over the years</p> <p>Manufacturers bias to supermarkets at expense of cash and carries and independents</p> <p>Symbol group good business idea but would take away individual control</p> <p>Restrictions on business of council policy on planning, traffic, rates etc</p> <p>Restrictions of bank lending policy for retail businesses</p>
8	<p>Aware of general Asian racial issues rather than personal ones</p> <p>Experience of name calling put down to ignorance rather than personal dislike</p> <p>Took long time to gain trust of local community when first Asian business in area 15-20 years ago</p>	<p>Business potential related to work put in – previous business given 100% this given less due to changing family situation, motivation, desire for recognition etc</p> <p>Vision and drive affected by family situation</p> <p>Key to success is providing extra something to survive against competition – service, attitude, stock</p> <p>Business success linked to luck, track record (experience), ability and religious influence on work ethic</p>

<b>9</b>	<p>Some experience of problems over the years but not seen as widespread or personal</p> <p>Issue of lack of education and perceived language barriers affect ability of communities to interact at all levels</p> <p>Not problem for later generations born and educated in UK</p> <p>Always felt welcome and at home in Scotland</p>	<p>Offer good service and prices compared to other similar shops to succeed</p> <p>Cannot compete with supermarkets so offer good alternative</p> <p>Key is good service and relationship with local community</p> <p>Need to adapt to changing values in society to keep up to date with consumer wants</p> <p>Future in son's vision / willingness to diversify and expand</p> <p>Business future secure while no other shop in housing scheme</p>
<b>10</b>	<p>Problems since Sept 11 by ignorant people</p> <p>Educated people understand the issues but any backlash is not at personal level</p> <p>Very little experience of racial or religious tension between communities as a whole in Edinburgh compared to England and other areas of Scotland</p> <p>Some incidents but mainly good local relationships due to local residence and involvement of whole family in local life – proud of community work to overcome racial barriers</p>	<p>Business success by putting customer first</p> <p>Learn from own mistakes and those of others</p> <p>Be honest with yourself</p> <p>Move on from mistakes and take opportunities that come your way</p> <p>Need to be a good butcher to succeed – walk away from bad business without being sentimental – diversify to avoid pressure on one particular sector</p> <p>Need to use brain to get money – then have responsibility to share it to keep generating more for benefit of family and less fortunate in community - make business work for you</p>
<b>11</b>	<p>Less racial tension in Edinburgh – particularly in current middle class location</p> <p>Some colour prejudice when initially approaching banks for loans – less problems now established customer</p>	<p>External threats to original sectors – diversified/moved to differing sectors over the years</p> <p>Need to respond/predict changes but always maintain standards and service - potential affected by personal health problems</p>
<b>12</b>	<p>Initial distrust by local community rather than prejudice</p> <p>Business now regarded as key aspect of local area</p> <p>Earned acceptance through maintaining high standards and service</p>	<p>Limited business potential but way to survive is through changing to meet customer needs, personal touch and good service</p> <p>Increased regulation costly and time consuming – problem for those with more limited language skills</p>
<b>13</b>	<p>No experience of racial issues in Edinburgh</p>	<p>No great business aims – continuation dependent on personal health and family demands on time</p>
<b>14</b>	<p>Initial local difficulties business related not personal racial issues</p>	<p>Success limited by external factors</p> <p>Internal issues focus on regaining customers lost by bad business practice of former owner through good service and standards and word of mouth</p>

<b>15</b>	Age rather than racial prejudice in former factory employment Being involved in community activities etc best way to minimise racial tensions	Main problems are external issues Business and community have to change with the times Success through working together with rather than competing with other local businesses
<b>16</b>	No race problems in Edinburgh – use family and mainstream staff to reduce any tensions	Potential problems with changing role of post office and area regeneration Opportunities if competitors close – keep customers through good community links Need reliable staff – can be problem so rely on personal relationships with locals to source employees
<b>17</b>	Few racial problems in Edinburgh – no racists just a few idiots Smaller community gives opportunities to integrate with mainstream – reduces tensions Negative impressions of Asian business practice same as all other small businesses	Business success through hard work, changing with demands of customers and learning lessons from good and bad practice of others
<b>18</b>	No race problems in Edinburgh	Business aims shaped by religious beliefs and restrictions Sees continuing role for family in micro enterprises
<b>19</b>	No problems – sees himself as British as UK born Cultural differences between British and Asian Pakistanis and Indians Problems for new migrants to accept and integrate with western society standards – leads to tensions in larger minority communities In Ed small community more integrated into mainstream locations	Increased competition can be faced by good standards and service. Stay responsive to customer needs
<b>20</b>	No racial problems or tension in Edinburgh – regards self and family as Leithers and Scottish not English or Pakistani Issues are small business not Asian in nature – can seem biased as more Asians in small business	Business success linked to personal involvement – people are biggest asset to business – relationships, service, attitude Drawback is limited capital and business skills – taking business courses to help all family enterprises with financial controls etc
<b>21</b>	Held up at gun point but sees this a small shop issue rather than personal racial attack Scotland is not racist – more issues of competition for jobs and money Good relations with local community – mutual respect Ease of entry to business and community through family reputation	Business development and family involvement dependent on wider family decisions Opportunity to develop ideas once father-in-law retires Aims to work with wife to improve family position and status Success down to personal attitude to customers, hard work and good business practice

**Table A 4.5.1: Topic 5 Ethnic Strategies - summary by interview part 1**

<b>Int. no</b>	<b>Opportunity structures market conditions – access to ownership</b>	<b>Group characteristics predisposition – resource availability</b>	<b>Business strategy</b>
<b>1</b>	Limited alternative employment options due to education, language etc Changing consumer patterns - generations may change attitude but will still not be white - need to be aware of cultural traditional business activity / approach	Community stick together Strong sense of community in sector Reliance on community finance and people	Develop to meet customer trends - move standards up to continue to meet expectations Train staff - potential to leave and set up competitive business / work for someone else
<b>2</b>	Access through family business experience Growing demand for products created / creates market opportunities	Family self-employed Tradition of moving to take business opportunities Use of community contacts and resources	Diversify product range to meet / beat changing demand / competition Make best use of family and co-ethnic labour Use mainstream and personal finance NOT rely on community
<b>3</b>	Took opening identified through community work Had ability to fill gap in market Had finance and business experience	Family tradition of self-employment Family aspiration to develop better status opportunities for future Family financial and social support in start-up Next generation hopefully involved but no pressure	Co-ethnic personnel and finance with family support Co-ethnic accountant Mainstream / co-ethnic clients - middleman position
<b>4</b>	Shop - take over from father Other activity - take over family empire Expand activity to make best of market opportunities	Family always self-employed in range of sectors Rely on family finances and labour in core business No use of community finance Some use of family resources on new venture start-up but each business has to work for itself or close	Diversify sector involvement Use contacts and opportunities locally to develop rather than rely simply on co-ethnic resources Sell up and move on to make best of gains and minimise loss Wide range of suppliers - not dependent on co-ethnic resources Use best deal to get best business advantage possible in all aspects

<b>5</b>	Always involved as business was family business from start-up Followed example / instructions of father	Increased competition and local stores diversifying Use of family resources Wider family in business but different sectors No use of family or community finance for expansion	Best use of contacts developed over time - mainstream and co-ethnic Stock dictated by combination of demand and experience Ability to adjust to local needs due to long involvement in community
<b>6</b>	Easy to move in to own business as extension of family shop involvement Access to ownership not so easy now due to changing market conditions and individual expectations / motivations	Family involvement in self-employment Family and co-ethnic staff if available Changing attitudes and opportunities between generations Reliance on brother for start-up finance Use of brother's accountancy skills until learned Reluctance for children to enter small shops	Symbol group membership good combination of help and independence Compete with supermarket by standard of goods and service not cost Use best resources available Develop and respond to competition Use bank to fund alternative business activity
<b>7</b>	Opportunity to enter shop business when father ill Initial family business started on suggestion of family member + financial help Finance available / took over existing business	Followed family employment pattern Ethnic minority community tendency to self-employment as way to overcome race issues Family and co-ethnic finance as no access to other sources - language / experience lacking Use family as much as possible	Diversify into other self-employment as no long term future in shop Prefer to keep it in the family rather than go for outside finance and help Tension between market needs / good business practice and personal values / traditions
<b>8</b>	Access to ownership through friends / community Council encouragement at time for retail outlets Current business opportunity recommended and pressured by friend	Family followed community example of retail as alternative to factory Worked with brother - friend - own shop Worked with friend to help out when under family and financial stress Not wanting children to enter small scale retailing but other self-employment	Influenced by ethnic community attitude to customer service etc Expand / diversify if cost effective Development limited by changing motivation Ideally would expand, diversify, join symbol group Respond to competition by knowing customers, building trust, offer better service

<b>9</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> business suggested by family 2 <sup>nd</sup> taken as opportunity in new town and way out of bad business Now took opportunity in new housing development Encouraged by council policy	Family involvement in retail Wife helps out - sons always involved but encouraged to find other careers - 1 <sup>st</sup> did not and now in shop - 2 <sup>nd</sup> will not come into shop Ethnic community support through shared experiences	Key to success is offering good service and building relationships with local community Change with the times Benefits of symbol group membership Diversify products and services - cash point etc
<b>10</b>	Opportunity if you have money Worked hard for company to get money for business start-up Involvement in many sectors to make most of all opportunities Business with ethnic and mainstream communities	Family trait to self-employment and independence Family labour used when possible as saves letting funds out of family control Support for wider family / community in Edinburgh and Pakistan - not others in UK	Business success by putting in the hours Keep customer happy with products and service to remain competitive Serve all parts of the community Diversify into other sectors to minimise risk of competition and maximise money making opportunities Get out of bad business and try something else
<b>11</b>	Shop was opportunity to make money to support family in Pakistan Diversified in proactive response to market Reverted to shop during recession period Access through personal finance and hard work – no contacts in UK	Strong family tradition of business involvement Reliance on family resources Trust issues with mainstream staff	Good service and attitude Remain proactive to changes in trends, demands and expectations Best strategy is honesty in all aspects of life
<b>12</b>	Easy access as premises available and family finance through previous employment Limited advice from community members and leaders	Family independence and benefits paramount – twins so closer than most family members	Work hard and stay true to principles Develop good relations with local community to promote customer loyalty
<b>13</b>	Business recommended and start-up sponsored by uncle	Reliance on own resources after initial help	Meet changing customer needs Good service and behaviour
<b>14</b>	Access through extended family – recommended by parents and uncle Experience gained with uncle then move to own premises	Use of community finance and labour on start-up Followed father's business approach	Work hard to build reputation Improve premises and stock ranges to encourage customers to return after business run down by previous owner

<b>15</b>	Followed co-ethnic friends into business Access to location through co-ethnic contacts	Links with Asian and mainstream business colleagues Integration with local business people and mainstream due to lack of other Asian owned shops Increased use of family labour and shared finance	Make best use of space and high margin, low waste stock Better standards and service than other local mainstream shops Respond to changing consumer trends Build good relations with local community and individuals – lives locally and children educated in local schools in previous locations
<b>16</b>	Business entry guided by friend 2 <sup>nd</sup> business opportunity for Post Office in poorer area	Family finance for 1 <sup>st</sup> shop Use of family resources plus mainstream trained PO staff	Keep one step ahead to survive Expand businesses when possible Exit strategy if too much competition, regulation and change in role of PO
<b>17</b>	Access to sector when mainstream owner sold up Suggested by family connections and experience Need to adapt business approach to changing market demands and competition	Edinburgh seen as opportunity to start new chain of family businesses Reliance on family – brother and both wives	Use best suppliers, goods and prices Continually develop premises to attract customers Be nice to retain customer loyalty Diversify when new opportunities arise
<b>18</b>	Expectation to join family business on arrival from Pakistan Access through mainstream owner exiting sector	50/50 family and bank finance Male family resources combine to run chain of shops and extended family in wider business activities	Continue to develop family business chain – all micro newsagent focus On-going diversification into other shops and property business Success through hard work and making most of opportunities
<b>19</b>	Access guided by family and community influences Learned about business during hand over period with retiring mainstream owner – goodwill developed	Family existing business networks Fathers 3 businesses shared with family to avoid arguments (and tax) Developed own contacts Reliance on pooled family labour, finance and skills	Increasing independence from brother and father 2 shops compliment each other in stock, opening times, joint purchasing

<b>20</b>	<p>Followed father and brother into sector</p> <p>Shop available near brothers so share customer base</p>	<p>Extended family shop and micro business involvement</p> <p>Taken control now father semi-retired and businesses shared out – oldest son and most business minded</p> <p>Use of family in business</p>	<p>Continued family involvement</p> <p>Improve personal business skills, knowledge and contacts</p> <p>Improve efficiency and apply lessons learned to all 3 family shops</p> <p>Add services to satisfy customer demands even if not profit generating</p> <p>Develop discounted family supply network</p>
<b>21</b>	<p>‘Imported’ by wife’s family and involved in family shops to learn language etc</p> <p>No alternative employment options</p> <p>Increasing responsibility as father-in-law semi retired and shared out 3 shops</p>	<p>Relies on in-laws for resources, advice and help</p> <p>Customer relations good due to reputation of father-in-law</p>	<p>Shop seen as typically Asian – compete on convenience and service rather than price and stock range</p> <p>Follow example and instruction of brother-in-law regarding developments</p> <p>Always full shelves – even if no personal takings that week</p>



**Table A 4.5.2: Topic 5 Ethnic Strategies - summary by interview part 2**

<b>Int. no</b>	<b>Business assistance awareness – uptake – expectations</b>	<b>Barriers to development internal – external</b>	<b>Personal impact skills – motivation – help needed</b>
<b>1</b>	Govt. schemes not suited to micro businesses	Conflict between religious demands and best business practice Attitude of younger generation changing Improved education - better opportunities BUT in other sectors Lack of govt. understanding of nature of ethnic businesses / practice	- Problem of having to be good at all aspects of management - some easier than others + and - Owner is key to business - without personal drive and skills enterprise would collapse or no longer have competitive edge
<b>2</b>	Non on start-up Advice taken on plans to expand / product development Wants help but not interference	Succession issues - sons and staff training Age / family pull to work less Lack of finance available to small businesses Threat of impact of increased race issues	+ hands on approach to products + involvement in all aspects of business - age and ability to keep focus
<b>3</b>	Approached C of C and LEEL for start-up advice - not seen as giving realities of small business experience Knew more from involvement in family business and experience gained by working for boss seen as good example	Limited investment capital for expansion Tension between good business practice and personal satisfaction from type of work	- ability / skill to deal with technological advances - personal shortcomings of previous track record + motivation to make success of business after other failure and extending family responsibilities
<b>4</b>	Active in seeking business advice / information on grants, schemes etc Aware of availability of training but sees lack of good advice on accessing courses, grants, new staff Sees lack of consistency in advice given by agencies Rely on banks for finance - + and - experience due to changing individuals involved	Increased competition at wider level but not local shops Threat would be similar business developing locally Changes forcing shop to close and relocation to better opportunities / focus on other activity Limited manpower available in family limits expansion	+ being brought up in business + practical experience is advantage and now second nature + ability to apply business skills in any sector + motivation of pride in family success + always looking for new challenge - reliance on personal involvement - potential loss of motivation / focus

5	<p>No use made of or awareness of business advice available</p> <p>Banks source of finance but not advice</p> <p>On the job learning is best</p>	<p>Children actively discouraged from business entry</p> <p>Only still in business to maintain family lifestyle achieved over years</p> <p>Biggest barrier is lack of input to small businesses by authorities, associations etc</p> <p>Only keeps business going to meet family obligations</p>	<p>+ experience and skills learned over years</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- lack of willingness to carry on</li> <li>- pressure of family expectations</li> <li>- desire not to be in 24/7 job</li> </ul>
6	<p>Advice not needed as plenty of previous experience</p> <p>Learned from father and brother and picked up by trial and error</p> <p>Information of sector changes gained through trade shows and links with other similar businesses</p> <p>Trade shows and symbol group not seen as business advice</p>	<p>Perception of Asian and other small shops being badly run</p> <p>Increased competition and diversity of large stores</p> <p>Lack of ability to meet changing customer needs</p> <p>Business must be customer led</p> <p>Symbol group promotions mixed benefit</p> <p>Aware of wider external threats</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- age is limitation to possibilities</li> <li>- lack of skills and experience</li> <li>+ willing to try</li> <li>+ aware that typical traditional Asian business strategy will not always work and of need to change, adapt, develop for next generation to survive</li> </ul>
7	<p>Good relationship with banks through other ventures</p> <p>Aware of help but wary of government schemes and bank motives for helping</p> <p>Difficult to access help and no clear financial benefits</p>	<p>Lack of personal skills and expertise</p> <p>Intention to exit shop and focus on other ventures</p> <p>Problems external rather than internal</p>	<p>+ experience</p> <p>+ family support / finance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- lack of specialist skills and expertise</li> <li>- intention to focus on other activities</li> <li>+ determination to be self-employed</li> </ul>
8	<p>Learned from publications and sheer hard work</p> <p>No other advice as experience is best teacher</p> <p>Learn the hard way</p> <p>Not aware of C of C or SEEL as business advice providers</p> <p>Bank for day to day cashing up not loans or advice</p>	<p>Initial barriers of race issues broken down over time - not personal attacks</p> <p>Business helped by involvement with local community</p> <p>Increased competition from multiples</p> <p>Local competition not problem as offers better service / regular customers</p> <p>Problem for some Asians new to business of language skills and stock knowledge</p>	<p>+ skills and track record</p> <p>+ pride in previous achievements</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- changing motivation and enthusiasm for challenge of business</li> <li>- vision changing with age / lifestyle</li> <li>- problem of equating business needs / stock etc with personal values</li> </ul>

<b>9</b>	Trade magazines for product news Symbol group for information / promotions Bank not used to finance business - used family and personal resources on start-up and move Not wanting external help - never looked for funds	Problems finding reliable staff - any background Local demographics Competition when supermarkets open eases with time - small shop always needed Threat of similar shop in same area - not likely Conflict between need for strong management and easy going nature	- age / retirement approaching + will always want to work + sons attitude to business now involved more + experience to pass on to son + good relations with local community - perceived lack of language skills
<b>10</b>	Bank does nothing for small businesses - only interested in making money - good business sense Learn by experience and mistakes Imitate other good business practice and learn from bad examples in ethnic and mainstream communities	Bad business will fail no matter what you do - all sectors and all ownership - get out to cut losses and do something else Laziness is biggest potential barrier Lack of clear communication of information about finance, regulations etc	+ not lazy - desire to make money (cash in hand) affects paperwork and costs in the end + not afraid to move on + ability to pass lessons learned on to son + position in local and ethnic community + determination to build business empire
<b>11</b>	Aware of availability but not used – seen as better to rely on personal experience over years Business award in 1 <sup>st</sup> shop – carried on similar approach in all ventures since	Health restricts business expansion Achieved aims of financial independence, education for family and property ownership Lack of trust in non-family staff Threats from competition and changing customer trends	+ family background + determination + family support and involvement + business skills - health
<b>12</b>	Community advice on start-up No professional advice Unaware of help available Sees little benefit as 20 years experience best teacher – learn from mistakes – follow trade information Banks used for finance – community accountant	Business limited by religious standards Aspirations for children to avoid sector Competition – tackle by service and reputation Increased regulation – more of problem for people with limited language skills – no problem as educated in UK	+ experience learned on job + close family network + financial and resource independence - tension between belief and theoretical best business practice - lack of ambition to make money
<b>13</b>	No interest in assistance	Changing demographics – area under redevelopment Sons' lack of interest Desire for time away from business	+ - work life balance - uninterested in business

<b>14</b>	Banks for overdraft and financial advice Not aware of business advice available – family never use outside help	Not sure if really wants to own shop – (unaware father would prefer alternative career options) Increased overheads and competition Changing local demographics and target market	+ experience with father + wide range of local contacts + fall back plan of motor trade skills - lack of drive and vision
<b>15</b>	Bank used for finance Business support perceived as not appropriate – working on different level and time scale – unaware of micro c-store issues Too much red tape and lack of time to leave business for meetings etc	Content with business in present form – expansion would be too demanding of time and resources now son in own shop Changing business environment challenge for all – need to be forward looking to survive	+ experience over years in business + positive attitude to change and challenge - limited resources now family older - changing personal aims with age and responsibilities
<b>16</b>	PO training and business approach Shop developed through experience Training and education a waste of time – learn from mistakes and leave options open	Limited business skills Changing customer requirements Local demographics (area under redevelopment)	+ experience + contacts and networks + other business interests for future - attitude to staff and customers (from observations and telephone contact)
<b>17</b>	Help for new business owners too little and too expensive Business advice too slow and out of touch with sector needs	Tension between community responsibilities and business demands on time Changing demographics and customer requirements	+ change is positive challenge + skills developed through experience - balancing pressure of home/community and work
<b>18</b>	Increasingly negative attitude of banks to small business Banks and council not too helpful – little they can realistically do	Lack of finance skills – no time to take courses etc Market conditions and area regeneration	+ family support networks + determination to adhere to personal standards - family control

<b>19</b>	<p>Advice from relatives before entry decision</p> <p>Skills learned from father and through experience</p> <p>Banks not aware of real issues – better to act on feedback/information from customers</p>	<p>Lack of financial skills (others have problems with language, experience and cultural attitudes)</p> <p>Lack of time off now sole trader and wife in shop</p> <p>Lack of interest in shop involvement by next generation</p> <p>Competition and transport issues</p>	<p>+ experience</p> <p>+ attitude to customers and business</p> <p>+ family network and involvement</p> <p>- skills</p> <p>- changing priorities on time</p>
<b>20</b>	<p>Little advice offered or expected</p> <p>Asian community support OK if new business in new area – not for established families and businesses</p> <p>Problems are small business problems not Asian issues – more obvious in Asian context due to high level of involvement in sector</p>	<p>Level of business skills</p> <p>Over reliance on personal involvement in own shop and other family businesses</p> <p>Insufficient capital to develop all ideas and business ventures</p> <p>Additional charges for businesses and local council policies</p>	<p>+ role as family leader/decision maker</p> <p>+ eagerness to learn and develop business</p> <p>- need to control all aspects of enterprises</p>
<b>21</b>	<p>No use of formal business advice services and banks</p> <p>Rely on family and community help, advice, contacts and finance</p> <p>Product information from suppliers, TV and trade papers</p>	<p>Lack of time with family</p> <p>Confidence low after robbery at gun point – now able to be in shop alone again</p> <p>Tension between family business approach and personal beliefs</p> <p>Competition and low margins</p>	<p>+ family support and wife's involvement</p> <p>+ need to succeed as no other options</p> <p>- need to defer to family out of respect</p>

**Table A 4.6: Topic +1 Generational Issues - summary by interview**

<b>Int. no</b>	<b>Migrant generation</b>	<b>Business generation</b>	<b>Repeat c-store ownership?</b>	<b>Aims for future generations</b>	<b>Succession plans</b>
<b>1</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	Possibly	Take advantage of education to improve options	None
<b>2</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	Yes – thrives on challenge	Would like involvement in business – making use of daughter-in-law as sons not interested or skilled	Develop wider business activities to utilise family skills and interests
<b>3</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	No	1 <sup>st</sup> gen disappointment at 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen involvement in shop	Children will have to make up minds when older
<b>4</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Yes and expand and diversify range of activities to build family business empire	Family involvement in business empire – family human resources limit potential	Younger son being prepared to take over (only child at time of study). Older son and siblings children will be involved
<b>5</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	No self-employment involvement	Sell business and retire on death of father
<b>6</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Yes – self employment preferred	Education important then self-employment if opportunities and economy good but aware of changing next generation motivations and aspirations	None
<b>7</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	No – but other self-employment	Take on business	None
<b>8</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Yes – but maintain life/work balance	Education important rather than assumed shop involvement	None

<b>9</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	Yes	Education important and other career options preferred – if not, then shop involvement	2 <sup>nd</sup> son left university so forced into shop – now enthusiastic and taking over as father gradually retires
<b>10</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	Yes – plus range of other enterprises and sectors	Continued involvement in family enterprises	Son and daughters all involved in businesses, grandchildren being groomed to continue expansion
<b>11</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	Yes – owned range of business throughout career	Education first then business involvement if chosen career path	Plan for chain of shops limited by health factors – 1 <sup>st</sup> son taken over by choice, 2 <sup>nd</sup> son increasingly involved as studies complete
<b>12</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	Children not encouraged or expected to take over business. Career with good money and standing in society better than self-employment	Retire once children settled in careers
<b>13</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	Yes	Local education gives opportunities for mainstream jobs	Exit sector on retirement
<b>14</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Possibly	No children to consider at this time – probably enter self-employment as perceived better than working for others	None
<b>15</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	Yes	Education and skills training before self-employment or career job – sad that son is now c-store owner.	None
<b>16</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	Employment out of c-store/micro business sector	Exit sector when property businesses provide sufficient income
<b>17</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Yes	Continued involvement in extended family business activity	Son not interested in shop so greater involvement of other family members

<b>18</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Yes	Would encourage self-employment in other sectors	Presumption that all extended family males will be involved in chain of micro businesses
<b>19</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Possibly	Education and career to improve lifestyle and status – opportunities for girls and boys	Family involvement in decision – shop good opportunity for less academic relative or newer migrant marrying into extended family
<b>20</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	Yes	Prefer children to develop careers and employment away from c-store sector.	Family decisions will apply
<b>21</b>	1 <sup>st</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	No	Anything but shop ownership or employment	Decisions will be made by wife's family members



**Table A 4.7: Topic +2 Attitude to Symbol Group - summary by interview**

<b>Int. no</b>	<b>Symbol group membership</b>	<b>Reasons</b>
<b>1</b>	No	Restrict freedom and use of resources
<b>2</b>	No	Limit freedom and access to all products and markets. Good to access product information and discounts.
<b>3</b>	No	Not discussed
<b>4</b>	No	Pride in own hard work and family focus so not considered as would interfere with control
<b>5</b>	No	Chains seen as threat to small business. Membership not discussed.
<b>6</b>	Yes	Too small for Spar so joined Londis – way to benefit from national image, offers, marketing, experience, product ranges and developments. Can be restrictive but adapts offers and merchandising to suit local needs and preferences.
<b>7</b>	Considering	Possible advantages but take away control. Advice and experience helpful but only if financial benefit guaranteed.
<b>8</b>	No	Suitable for bigger premises but not looking to expand as work/family balance important.
<b>9</b>	Yes	Experience of both independence and group membership – help to be in group for image, manufacturers deals, marketing etc. Still add own ideas to get best of both worlds.
<b>10</b>	No	Not discussed.
<b>11</b>	No	Intend to stay independent – likes control over development and product diversity, use of local suppliers, setting prices and merchandising to suit local needs and tastes.

<b>12</b>	Considering	Considering Londis but feels would take away freedom to develop or exit when desired. Costly to change shop – need to extend trading hours – would need change in attitude to alcohol sales. Remaining independent seems best way forward.
<b>13</b>	No	Costs too high – small shops still needed for top-up shopping and, although struggle, independence allows adaptation to local needs – knows local demands after 24 years.
<b>14</b>	Considering	Plus points of stock delivery and potential improvement in margins. Does not like idea of reduced individual control.
<b>15</b>	Previously	Sees importance of elements offered by groups but seen as too tying. Can do similar as independent if good use made of suppliers and promotions.
<b>16</b>	No	Approached but not interested – refused to discuss reasons.
<b>17</b>	Considered previously	Works for some in image, merchandising etc but takes away independence. Bulk buying for 3 family shops gives good prices.
<b>18</b>	No	Charges deterrent to family decision as newsagent focus limits interest in grocery lines and off-sales against religious beliefs – little attraction to groups as too low turnover and footfall.
<b>19</b>	No	Possibly only way to longer term survival but financial outlay too high at present. Prefer to use group ideas and make family deals with local suppliers.
<b>20</b>	Considering	Would be expensive and limit ability to respond to customer requests as aware of customer profile Prefer to develop own links with suppliers for family group of businesses.
<b>21</b>	Considering	Too much paperwork and finance for same profits not worth extra work. Freedom for different approach to meet varied customer needs. Family group seems best way forward.

**Table A 4.8: Follow-up visit - summary by interview**

<b>Int. no</b>	<b>5 year aim 2002/3</b>	<b>Situation autumn 2007</b>
<b>1</b>	To build and become professional businesses	Business still open – expanded activities to take-away food outlet
<b>2</b>	Business in position to run itself for 100 years	Retired, although involved in advisory capacity to son now running business
<b>3</b>	To make a success after other failed ventures	No longer c-store involvement but range of family small businesses
<b>4</b>	Pride in father's creation to be built on for children's benefit / development	Wide range of small business activities including 2 larger c-stores in similar location
<b>5</b>	Sell it off and retire as soon as possible	Still open but under new management/ownership
<b>6</b>	To try to survive but sees no bright future but better than alternative of working for someone	Business thriving and expanded to neighbouring property. Still Londis
<b>7</b>	To get out and develop other business activity as this is way of making a living rather than a real business	Shop still open but run by family and mainstream community staff as owner more involved in other business activities
<b>8</b>	Keep business going to cover financial needs and maintain independence	Still same shop. Still same attitude to work/family balance
<b>9</b>	Would like to expand premises to give son more space to develop ideas	Retired but minor involvement in shop run by son
<b>10</b>	To make money - shop to close as no longer viable - other businesses continue / expand / diversify / close / relocate as necessary	Still providing support to son in shop and wider activities
<b>11</b>	Aim for chain of shops restricted due to health problems	Thriving business – all family involved including daughter-in-law

<b>12</b>	Do well for children and be good example of Muslim way of life	Family still operate shop (local competition closed) – all involved but sons to pursue education as priority
<b>13</b>	Continue while health OK	Business closed – area under regeneration
<b>14</b>	Try for 5 years then exit option	Still in premises but now internet café and news outlet
<b>15</b>	To be in business in 10 years time	Business still open – local competition closed and new housing development near completion
<b>16</b>	Survive redevelopment of area	Area now under redevelopment but owns only local business – intends to set up in shop in unit when building complete
<b>17</b>	Exit when children complete education	Business continues in same format and locations
<b>18</b>	Continue family business activity	Still micro c-stores and family chain of similar businesses. See no problem continuing in same approach
<b>19</b>	Generate enough business to keep going	Little evidence of planned development but shop still doing well – wife involved
<b>20</b>	Centralise decision-making and purchasing for all 3 family shops	Shop main business activity but developing other interests (would not say as ‘in early stages’)
<b>21</b>	Be handy and give good service	More independent of family now father-in-law dead

## **Appendix 5: Publications**

The study into internal barriers to the development of convenience stores owned by members of the Edinburgh Pakistani community presented in this thesis commenced in September 2000. During the extended time span of the project, a number of opportunities arose to gain feedback on the research approach and initial findings, and a wider understanding of the issues emerging through collaboration with colleagues focusing on a wider range of ethnic, business and minority support issues.

The following list of publications is included to indicate the extent of external review of the research process, progress and findings, and links between the c-store study and wider ethnic, business and minority group research undertaken at Queen Margaret University.

Conference presentations as lead author and presenter provided the opportunity to establish the rationale for research into ethnic minority business micro enterprise activity in Edinburgh (1), present the initial findings of the c-store study (2), identify micro-retailing support needs (3) and receive institution-wide peer review of the research process and findings at the end of the extended study period (6). Contributions to other conference proceedings present wider micro-business support needs (4), and the implications of succession planning issues for policy makers (5).

Journal publications fall into two categories: as lead author with the focus on the convenience store research (7); and the author's collaboration with colleagues focusing on wider ethnic minority business issues (8, 10) and additional qualitative research (9).

The full text of the convenience store research paper and abstracts of conference papers and additional journal articles are attached in the same order as listed below.

## **Publications**

### **Conference proceedings:**

- 1 Welsh, R. and Abdullah, F. 2002. South Asian small business owner/managers in Edinburgh: issues of ethnicity in small business development potential. In: *25<sup>th</sup> ISBA National Small Firms Conference* pp 1625 – 1641, 13-15 November, Brighton. London: ISBA.
- 2 Welsh, R., Seaman, C., Bent, R. and Ingram, A. 2002. Facing the challenge of change: examples from South Asian owned convenience stores in Edinburgh. In: *Retailing for Communities* p 44, Manchester. 13 September. MMU Business School: CIRM.
- 3 Welsh R., Seaman, C., Bent, R. and Lamb, L. 2006. Minority Ethnic Business in Edinburgh – Micro-Retailing Research and the Development of a Framework for Business Support Systems. In: *EIRASS Conference* p 235, July 9 – 12, Budapest. Den Haag: EIRASS.
- 4 Bent, R., Lamb, L., Seaman, C. and Welsh, R. 2006. Public Sector Business Support – engaging the ethnic business. In: *EIRASS Conference* p 21, July 9 – 12, Budapest. Den Haag: EIRASS.
- 5 Ingram, A., Unis, A., Seaman, C. and Welsh, R. 2007. Succession planning within ethnic minority family owned firms: implications for policy makers. *Research Paper: School of Business, Enterprise and Management, Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh*. Unpublished.
- 6 Welsh, R. 2008. Internal barriers to small business development: a study of independent retailers from the Edinburgh South Asian community. In: *2<sup>nd</sup> Annual PhD Conference*, 24 November, Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh. Unpublished.

### **Journal articles:**

- 7 Welsh, R., Bent, R., Seaman, C. and Ingram, A. 2003. The challenge to c-stores: Edinburgh South Asian Responses. *International Journal of Retail Distribution and Management*, 31 (8) pp 408 – 17.
- 8 Seaman, C., Bent, R., Ingram, A., Welsh, R. and Mederos, A. 2005. Fissures in the marketing strategies of South Asian restaurants in Edinburgh. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 29 (3) pp 193 – 199.
- 9 Ingram, A., Pianu, E. and Welsh, R. 2007. Supporting dyslexic Scottish university students: positive actions for the future? *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 19 (7) pp 606 – 611.
- 10 Abdullah, F., Ingram, A. and Welsh, R. 2009. Managers' Perceptions of Tacit Knowledge in Edinburgh's Indian Restaurants. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 21 (3).

**Welsh, R. and Abdullah, F. 2002. South Asian small business owner/managers in Edinburgh: issues of ethnicity in small business development potential. In: 25<sup>th</sup> ISBA National Small Firms Conference pp 1625 – 1641, 13-15 November, Brighton. London: ISBA.**

The development pattern and future success of a micro enterprise is uniquely dependent on the age, experience, motivation, and cultural background of the individual owner/manager. Findings of small business research conducted in large ethnic minority communities suggest that ethnic business strategies emerge which broadly confirm the widely held stereotype of Asian businesses succeeding through working long hours and utilising family and community human and financial resources. To date, little similar research has been conducted within very small ethnic minority communities.

Although there are no accurate population statistics available, it is estimated that the Edinburgh South Asian community is 2% of the city population. Business activity disproportionately focuses on micro enterprises in the convenience store and restaurant sectors, both of which are subject to increasing pressure from changing trading environments. Two studies in progress are examining entry, competitive and exit strategies in Pakistani owned convenience store businesses and owner/manager learning methods in Bangladeshi owned restaurants.

Initial findings suggest that the increasing integration of second and third generation immigrants to the city with the mainstream population has affected individual motivation and aspirations. Low level retailing is no longer seen as a particularly desirable form of economic activity. Instead, the second and third generations are increasingly encouraged to diversify into alternative forms of self-employment or to pursue recognised qualifications and enter the wider employment market.

Changes have taken place in knowledge conception and diffusion processes. The hands on approach to learning adopted by first generation restaurant owners is still predominant. However, knowledge diffusion practices within these businesses are changing. The second and third generations appear to be less inclined to adopt this traditional learning approach. Instead, a preference for formal education leading to recognised qualifications is emerging.

While these changes serve to increase the business opportunities for the minority community, there is the potential for a negative impact on the future of the convenience store and 'Indian' restaurant sectors in the city.

**Welsh, R., Seaman, C., Bent, R. and Ingram, A. 2002. Facing the challenge of change: examples from South Asian owned convenience stores in Edinburgh. In: *Retailing for Communities* p 44, Manchester. 13 September. MMU Business School: CIRM.**

The small and micro, independent retail sector in general is a traditional feature of the British economy. In particular, convenience stores play an important role in the maintenance of strong economic and social resources in inner cities. Changing consumer behaviour, increased competition and variations in inner city demographics combine to offer increasing challenges to the future of these enterprises.

It is suggested that up to two thirds of all convenience stores in Britain are owned and managed by members of ethnic minority communities, predominantly groups from within the South Asian community. Academic interest in small and micro businesses owned and managed by members of these communities has lead to an understanding of the approach to business adopted. However, this research has concentrated on areas with large ethnic minority populations. To date, extremely limited academic research has addressed the issues related to the South Asian small retail business owners in a location with a very small ethnic minority population. It is estimated that the Edinburgh South Asian community is 0.8 % of the city population. This compares to an UK average of 7.1 %, with figures as high as 20 % in some London boroughs. Business activity within the community disproportionately focuses on the small retail sector. The size of the Edinburgh South Asian minority community and a combination of migration patterns and local government policies have resulted in few housing and business concentrations in the city. This has lead to a wider integration with majority community customers, suppliers and business service providers, and less reliance on co-ethnic resources than is apparent in larger minority populations.

Qualitative, adaptive grounded theory research in progress within the Edinburgh Pakistani business community is exploring barriers to business development. Initial findings indicate a wide range of responses to the threats presented. At one extreme, low level retailing is no longer seen as a particularly desirable form of economic activity. Instead, the second and third generations are increasingly encouraged to diversify into alternative forms of self-employment or to pursue recognised qualifications and enter the wider employment market. Alternatively the response to the challenge of increased competition and the way in which to a secure future is seen as involving the skills and enthusiasm of the second generation in the day to day running of the business as much as possible. This, combined with the resources of symbol group membership and the provision of a service to the local community will ensure the economic security of the extended family.

While no two business owners will respond in the same way, the identification of the range of responses and underlying individual perceptions of the changing retail environment will assist policy makers to develop more appropriate help for the sector. This, in turn, will assist independent convenience store owners to make better informed and appropriate strategic choices.



**Welsh R., Seaman, C., Bent, R. and Lamb, L. 2006. Minority Ethnic Business in Edinburgh – Micro-Retailing Research and the Development of a Framework for Business Support Systems. In: *EIRASS Conference* p 235, July 9 – 12, Budapest. Den Haag: EIRASS.**

In common with minority ethnic communities in many parts of the United Kingdom, the Edinburgh South Asian community features high levels of self-employment, predominantly in small and micro-enterprises and concentrated in the retail and restaurant sectors. The limited existing research focuses primarily on external factors concerning the longer-term economic viability of many such minority-owned businesses, given the disproportionate dependence on sectors under increased and increasing threat from changing consumer behaviour, demographic changes and local socio-economic factors.

Ethnic business issues identified in larger minority communities elsewhere in the United Kingdom are evident within the Edinburgh South Asian community, including a continued reliance on family and community networks, and a tendency to remain in low level, easy-entry sectors. The minority community in Edinburgh is much smaller than those where earlier research has focused. Issues raised contrast with larger minority ethnic communities in other parts of the UK, notably in the depth of economic and social embeddedness in the majority community, changing aspirations of second and third generation community members, wider micro and family business issues. Findings highlight a lack of strategic approach, succession planning and use of business support mechanisms.

To date, very little research has explored internal factors relating to individual business owners. A conceptual model of the future of individual convenience store businesses within the Edinburgh Pakistani community is proposed, which is dependent on unique combinations of individual business owners' business and migration patterns, changing generational aspirations and the intensity of cultural and family influences.

Further research into a range of ethnic communities will assist the development of ways in which to quantify and weight the range of factors, providing a tool for developing and targeting appropriate business support. The importance of examining existing businesses, aspirations and internal factors alongside the business needs, wants and expectations of individual communities may play a clear role in future understanding of the most effective strategies for long-term business development and support. Much of this research is currently being undertaken by the Scottish Centre for Enterprise and Ethnic Business Research [SCEEER] on a Scotland-wide basis, to facilitate both academic understanding and the enhancement of future business development and support strategies.

**Bent, R., Lamb, L., Seaman, C. and Welsh, R. 2006. Public Sector Business Support – engaging the ethnic business. In: *EIRASS Conference* p 21, July 9 – 12, Budapest. Den Haag: EIRASS.**

It is widely acknowledged business support providers are failing to appropriately target and communicate their products and services to ethnic minority businesses (Fallon and Brown, 2004; Ram and Smallbone, 2003; Linehan and Sosna, 2003; Oc and Tiesdell, 1999; Seaman, Bent and Wallace, 1999; Soar, 1998). To date little academic attention has been given to evaluating the marketing practices of business support providers in terms of EMBs and the majority of research has primarily concentrated on addressing the support needs of ethnic minority firms and the nature of ethnic minority firms. This paper represents a starting point for contributing to this area of limited research. This paper investigates how mainstream Scottish business support providers are marketing their products and services to ethnic minority businesses. In order to gain an insight into the marketing strategies and techniques employed by mainstream Scottish business support providers a qualitative approach was undertaken utilising six in-depth interviews. The findings suggest the majority of providers are aware that poor up-take exists and awareness of business support services by ethnic minority businesses is often lacking. “There isn’t a great deal of take-up from the communities” maintained one respondent and as a result of this a number of organisations have tailored or developed certain products and services to specifically suit the needs of ethnic minority entrepreneurs. In addition, support providers have utilised ethnically sensitive techniques such as ethnic media, sponsorship and the outreach approach to promote their offerings and engage ethnic entrepreneurs. Whilst this study has revealed business support organisations believe they know how to engage the ethnic business communities and are making attempts in their marketing efforts to reach them, however, three areas of concern are raised. Firstly the ‘ad hoc’ nature of the support providers’ interaction, secondly, the lack of a baseline ethnic data from which to plan, develop and monitor outcomes and finally the involvement and use of social networks for business advice meaning that support providers may be passed over in favour of a personal family social contact.

**Ingram, A., Unis, A, Seaman, C. and Welsh, R. 2007. Succession planning within ethnic minority family owned firms: implications for policy makers. *Research Paper: School of Business, Enterprise and Management, Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh. Unpublished.***

The paper presents, interview findings derived from a sample of small Scottish businesses. Owners' comments form case studies of succession planning and describe associated decision - making processes of ownership, transfer and control, inter - generational relations and kinship networks. The units are located in the East of Scotland and are first/second generation South Asian owned enterprises. From this exploratory fieldwork we question whether existing formal models of support (based upon larger firms) can assist SME owner managers in planning their succession processes. The paper highlights a need to embed support within government policy initiatives and for agencies to provide delivery mechanisms more appropriate to the needs of smaller companies.

**Welsh, R. 2008. Internal barriers to small business development: a study of independent retailers from the Edinburgh South Asian community. In: 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual PhD Conference, 24 November, Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh. Unpublished.**

### **Aim**

To explore the identity and relative importance of internal barriers to business development of Pakistani community c-store owner-managers in Edinburgh in order to assist the development of targeted, relevant business support to a sector under increasing threat.

### **Background**

In Edinburgh, Pakistani community members operate and estimated  $\frac{2}{3}$  of c-stores, despite being 0.8% of the population. The sector provides economic and social benefits and, despite the increasing threat of external PEST factors, has a low take-up rate of business support/advice.

Micro-businesses development is dependent upon internal factors related to the education, experience, access to finance/business advice, personal values, goals and motivation, family/community role models, ethnicity, religion and cultural background of the owner-manager.

Large ethnic minority community business strategies rely on the interactions of opportunity structures, ethnic group characteristics, close co-ethnic ties and social networks. Small ethnic minority community business research identifies barriers to development as a combination of ethnic and generic SME issues of changing generational aspirations and the extent of social and economic embeddedness with mainstream communities.

### **Findings and conclusions**

Semi structured, qualitative interviews with 21 Edinburgh Pakistani c-store owners obtained objective information (gender, age, education and business experience, ethnic origin, family/community role models) and discussed the role of motivation, ethnic characteristics/influences, evolving aspirations, opportunities and options in business development.

While the relative importance varies on an individual basis, factors influencing business development emerge as: individual motivation to enter/remain in self-employment, changing sojourner mentality, increased social embeddedness, and the changing aspirations of and for more economically and socially embedded generation migrants.

By addressing these issues, private and public sector business support packages can be both targeted to the needs of the sector and appear relevant to the business owner, thus increasing with improved take-up rates potentially bringing both economic and social benefits for the Pakistani and other ethnic minority communities, the convenience store sector and the social context of the enterprise.

**Welsh, R., Bent, R., Seaman, C. and Ingram, A. 2003. The challenge to c-stores: Edinburgh South Asian Responses. *International Journal of Retail Distribution and Management*, 31 (8) pp 408 – 17.**

### **Abstract**

While no two businesses are the same, examples from Edinburgh Pakistani community convenience store owners illustrate business survival strategies developed in response to increased environmental challenges presented by changing consumer behaviour, increased competition and demographic variations. These are related to the individual's motivation, experience and family business background, and include exiting the sector, gaining recognised qualifications and alternative employment, and involving second and third generations in expanding family business activities. The resulting smaller, but stronger, c-store sector continues to provide opportunities for individual businesses, thus maintaining the economic and social benefits for the ethnic minority community and the wider city population.

### **Keywords**

Convenience stores; Edinburgh; ethnic minority; business strategy.

### **Introduction**

Convenience stores have long been a feature of the British economy, providing valuable local economic and social resources. However, the sector is facing the challenge of a continually changing retail environment. There is a disproportionately high involvement of the Edinburgh Pakistani community in the convenience store sector with more than half of such businesses owned by a community comprising 0.8% of the city population. When combined with a high dependence on family human and financial resources, this greatly increases the potential negative economic and social impacts of the failure of business owners to respond to these challenges, both for the Pakistani community and the wider city population.

Qualitative research into South Asian micro business activity in Edinburgh aims to identify the issues and factors shaping the strategies to face the challenge of these changes developed by individual business owners. The lessons learned will assist business support agencies (both private and public sector) to develop schemes that are both relevant to the local situation and appropriate to the needs of the local micro retail enterprise owners.

This paper defines terms used, establishes the research methodology, outlines the challenges facing inner city convenience stores, identifies theoretical small business success strategies and presents examples of business approaches adopted in convenience stores owned by members of the Edinburgh Pakistani community.

### **Definition of terms**

Although there is no one clear definition of a 'convenience store', for the purposes of this paper the term refers to the grouping used by Baron et al. (2001) as "based loosely on store size of less than 3000 square feet, and a location close to customers' homes ... having a product range that is wide and shallow" (2001: 396). This grouping includes non-affiliated retailers and symbol group members as well as specialists such as CTNs and grocers that are "a centre for social and community activity" (2001: 412). In addition, the Bolton (1971) definition of a micro enterprise

having less than 10 employees is used throughout, and the term 'South Asian' used to describe those who regard themselves as having family origins in the Indian sub-continent, primarily India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (Gidoomal, 1997).

### **Methodology**

This study uses a qualitative approach to identify, and examine the interaction of, the range of issues and factors affecting business strategies developed by Edinburgh Pakistani community owned convenience stores in response to changing retail environments.

The adaptive grounded theory methodology (Layder, 1993; 1998) used in the study draws on existing knowledge to provide a base upon which to build new understandings of a particular research focus. A wide-ranging literature review explores existing knowledge of the subject and address established stereotypes and prejudices. This identifies the range of topics to be included in the schedule for in-depth, face-to-face data collection interviews. Constant comparison analysis allows emerging themes to be identified and explored more fully in subsequent interviews. In addition, new topics raised by the interviewee can be reviewed in the literature and added to the interview schedule (Layder, 1998). While the subjective nature of the research topic limits the generalisability of findings across the sector, valuable lessons can be learned by the in-depth examination of individual business examples (Perren and Ram, 2001).

Summaries of relevant convenience store, micro enterprise and ethnic minority business research literature are presented below.

The profile of the Edinburgh South Asian community background and business activity was developed from interviews with community and business representatives.

An initial research sample of ten businesses was selected to include both a range of socio-economic locations throughout the city and both first and second generation business owners. Interviews, lasting an average of one hour, took place in the business premises, were taped, transcribed and analysed using a coding system developed from the schedule of interview topics developed from the literature review.

The descriptive findings presented in this paper present the three broad common themes emerging from the constant comparison analysis process and extremes of each strategic approach are illustrated in Table I.

### **Challenges to the convenience store sector**

#### **External factors**

The small and micro, independent retail sector in general is a traditional feature of the British economy. In particular, convenience stores play an important role in the maintenance of strong economic and social resources in inner cities. However, these micro enterprises are increasingly under threat from a number of external factors, including changing demographics, increased competition and changing consumer behaviour (see Figure 1), that combine to present an ongoing challenge to their survival and future development opportunities (Baron et al., 2001).

Economic and social change, competition from multiple retailers and locational difficulties combine to create inadequacies in the independent small store's trading environment. Demographic changes lead to the situation in which there is an

insufficient population to support the number of retail outlets in a particular catchment area. This combines with social change affecting the needs and behaviour of consumers to result in independent retailers being faced with secondary, poor locations and increased competition from large stores and chains. The situation is also affected by increased traffic congestion and parking restrictions in urban areas (Smith and Sparks, 1997; 2000).

Increased competition is generated by the expansion into the retail sector by businesses that previously focused on other activities, for example the expansion of petrol forecourt retail outlets. Similarly, the traditional 'open all hours' convenience of the small independent shop is being undermined by the longer opening hours of supermarkets, up to twenty-four hours in some areas, resulting in increased competition for customers. A further threat is posed by the increasing use of internet shopping combined with home delivery available from both national supermarket chains and local specialised outlets (Baron et al., 2001).

Threats to the survival of such enterprises are also related to operating costs, the availability of investment capital and supply problems. Small, independent stores are unable to benefit from scale economies adopted by large companies and chains, thus increasing dependence on cash and carry wholesale. The outcome is that many small shops are unable to price their goods and services at a competitive level. In addition, altering consumer expectations and the need to keep abreast of technological change puts increasing demands on the investment capital available to small enterprises already experiencing critical cash flow levels (Kirby, 1986; Smith and Sparks, 2000; Bent, Seaman, Wallace and Kerr, 1999).

<b>External factors</b>	<b>Internal factors</b>
Changes in the UK economy	Motivation for self-employment
Changes in the extent of economies of scale	Previous business experience of owner-manager
Changes in government and local authority policy towards small firms	Skills training and educational background of owner-manager
Private sector initiatives to assist small firms	Influence of role models in the family
Technological advances	Influence of role models in the community
Demographic changes	Influence of cultural or religious values

**Figure 1: External and internal factors affecting small retail businesses**

(Source: Storey, 1994: ch 3-5)

### **Internal factors**

In addition to these external factors, potential disadvantages for small retail businesses arise from internal factors related to the age, experience and managerial skills of the business owner-manager (see Figure 1). Lack of knowledge of modern retail methods and small business management results in an inability to implement and interpret the controls necessary to facilitate sound management practice and prolonged business development. Although the success of a small business is largely dependent on personal and family commitment and skill, appropriate training and

advice may enhance the potential for development. The willingness of the owner-manager to respond to the challenge of the changing retail environment may also be affected by age, reasons for business entry, and issues related to family and community influences, ethnic background and business succession (Storey, 1994; Basu and Goswami, 1999).

On a more positive note, the advantages of small independent retailers are recognised as being similar to those of small and micro enterprises in general. The fact that they are closer to their customers and able to adapt and change quicker than larger organisations should give businesses a competitive edge over larger companies. Even with these challenges to survival and future development, small independent retailers can still find and fill a market niche by giving value added services and specialist goods (Bent et al., 1999).

### **Good business practice**

Good business practice calls for the development of a strategy to encompass all aspects of the business, from entry decision, resource development and competitive approach, to succession or exit plans. This will then place an enterprise in a position to respond proactively to changes in the external trading environment and maximise available opportunities (MacMillan and Tampoe, 2000). While the generic strategic approach to business practice is particularly relevant to large enterprises concerned with co-ordinating a wide range of products and resources, it is important to take into account the different issues involved when considering the strategy required for small and micro businesses (Bridge, O'Neill and Cromie, 1998).

The business entry decision is closely linked to the business owner's motivation for self-employment and may be influenced by the combination of negative 'push' and positive 'pull' factors present in the individual's situation (see Figure 2) (Basu and Goswami, 1999).

#### **Negative 'push' factors**

Inability to find employment  
Low paid alternative employment  
Low status alternative employment  
Perceived or actual work place and social racial discrimination  
Redundancy

#### **Positive 'pull' factors**

Desire for independence  
Financial and status betterment  
Greater personal control  
Niche market or high growth potential identified  
Best use of expertise

**Figure 2: Factors influencing business entry decision**

(Source: Basu and Goswami, 1999: 264)

The limited availability of alternative resources in micro enterprises (many of which involve only the owner and immediate family members) places increased focus on the skills and attitudes of the owner. However, the key to business success is seen as being aware of the changing external environment and the development of skills and resources necessary to meet the challenge presented (Byrom, Harris and Parker, 2000). In addition, the extent of family involvement in such enterprises raises issues for future development of the business as there may be conflict between aims, approaches, motivation and aspirations in successive generations (Goffee, 1996).



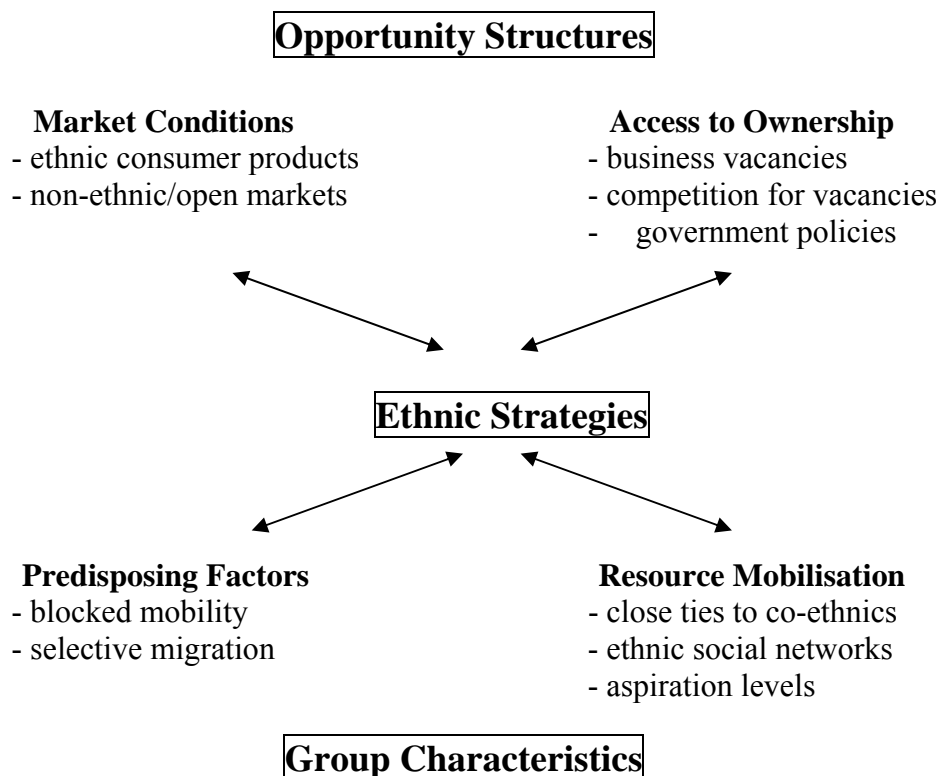
According to Fox, Nilakant and Hamilton (1996), this potential barrier to business development can be reduced by a planned approach to change in which there is a gradual integration of successive generations into all aspects of the business.

### **Ethnic business strategies**

As already noted, the individual business owner's approach to strategy development will be influenced by the factors identified above: motivation for self-employment, previous experience and skills, the influence of family and community role models, and values deriving from ethnic background. An estimated two thirds of such enterprises in the UK are owned and managed by individuals with ethnic minority community backgrounds, predominantly those of South Asian origin (Gidoomal, 1997). Therefore, the importance of family and community role models and the influence of culture and religion on business activity is particularly relevant when considering business strategies developed by convenience stores facing the challenge of changing retail environments.

### **Large minority community business strategy**

Research by Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward (1990) into business practice within large minority communities suggests that ethnic business strategies emerge to make best use of the opportunities and resources available. These strategies include a combination of opportunity structures (market conditions and access to ownership) and group characteristics (predisposing factors and resource mobilisation) (see Figure 3).



**Figure 3: An Interactive model of Ethnic Business Development**

(Source: Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward, 1990:22)

However, Ram (1997) and Basu and Goswami (1999) propose that many Asians were pushed into self-employment by a combination of factors including recession, racism and general economic decline, as opposed to the pull of cultural flair for business activities. While it is suggested that this may be due to the owner-manager being prepared to make short-term sacrifices in order to enjoy comparative benefits, for many the reality may be simply that of changing from being a marginal worker to being a marginal proprietor (Aldrich, Jones and McEvoy, 1984).

The widely held stereotype of the South Asian business that "makes productive use of ethnic resources like cheap family labour, finance from within the community, and cultural values that emphasise hard work and thrift" (Basu and Goswami, 1999: 252) is evident among convenience store businesses in these larger ethnic populations. Research conducted by Ram (1994), Dyer and Ross (2000) and Ram, Abbas, Sanghera and Hillin (2000) concludes that there is evidence of a strong reliance on family and community business and social networks in large minority communities that influences the competitive stance taken by individual business owners.

These individual business strategies may also be shaped by the influence of religion on products, access to finance and expectations of family responsibilities (Gidoomal 1997; Iyer, 1999). In addition, future business developments will be affected by the availability of alternative employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, and changing aspiration and perceived career options for second and third generation immigrants (Deakins, Majmudar and Paddison, 1997; Ram and Jones, 1998; Barrett, Jones and McEvoy, 2001; Barrett, Jones, McEvoy and McGoldrick, 2002).

Although there is a wide range of business advice and support available to convenience store owners, there is evidence of a low level of awareness and uptake of such initiatives (Ram and Jones, 1998). While Fadahunsi, Smallbone and Supri (2000) suggest that this may be affected by an over-reliance on community networks, it may also be due to a perceived difficulty in accessing business start-up finance and advice linked to lack of loan security or prejudice (Bank of England, 1999).

### **Smaller minority community business strategy**

In smaller ethnic minority communities alternative strategies are emerging. Limited breakout to provide ethnic products and services to mainstream markets has led to the development of what Aldrich et al. (1984) call a "middleman minority". This business approach is the result of the increasingly mixed social and economic embeddedness of ethnic minority and mainstream communities, and is shown in the horizontal break out of minority community owned businesses in to mainstream locations. The effect of less rigidly defined ethnic groups and the increased mobility of ethnic group members has led to the potential co-ethnic markets diminishing. This increases the need for improved business practice more in line with that of micro enterprises in the majority community (Waldinger et al., 1990; Ram, 1997; Barrett et al., 2001; Barrett et al., 2002). This view is supported by the findings of Deakins et al. (1997) that the smaller South Asian community in Glasgow has developed business strategies similar to those of mainstream community enterprises.

### **Edinburgh South Asian community convenience stores research**

The convenience stores in Edinburgh, many of which are owned by members of ethnic minority communities, face the same challenge as elsewhere in the UK. Urban regeneration is only recently starting to slowly reverse the declining inner city population. However, in many areas the 'new' residents are from higher socio-economic groups than the 'old' local population, and less likely to rely on local convenience stores for more than top-up shopping. In addition, there are increasing numbers of superstore and out of town shopping centre developments.

As Deakins (1999) notes, many initiatives designed to help ethnic minority businesses overcome constraints associated with changing inner-city environments do not take into account the diversity of such enterprises or the differing motivations, background, education and influence of cultural traditions on new generations of micro business owners. By increasing the understanding of the range of local factors influencing the business approach adopted by the Pakistani community convenience store owners in Edinburgh, policy makers and business support providers will be better able to develop more appropriate assistance for the micro enterprises.

### **Community background**

Although at the time of writing there are no accurate statistics available, the 1991 Census, Scottish Executive Labour Force Surveys, and information provided by local community and business leaders, Edinburgh City Council and the Chamber of Commerce estimate the Edinburgh South Asian community to comprise 0.8% of the city's population. More than half (10-12000) consider themselves to be of Pakistani origin, 4000 Indian and 2000 Bangladeshi. The Bangladeshi community is primarily involved in restaurant businesses, Indians in manufacturing, wholesale or professional activity, and Pakistani self-employment focuses on low level retailing in convenience stores.

Pakistani migration to Edinburgh has grown gradually since the 1960s, when initial low-paid employment and lack of alternatives due to limited language skills and resources elsewhere in the UK encouraged entry into self-employment in low level retailing. The community grew during the 1970s and early 1980s when government immigration policy enabled relatives from the Indian sub-continent to join families in the UK. In addition, there was increased migration within the UK to take advantage of apparent opportunities for small retail business start-up in Edinburgh's expanding urban conurbation.

These migration patterns and local government housing and city development policies have resulted in few ethnic minority housing and business concentrations in the city. This has resulted in wider economic and social integration of the Pakistani community with majority community customers, suppliers and business service providers, and less reliance on co-ethnic resources than is possible in larger minority populations.

The continued involvement of second generation families in the sector has resulted in an estimated half of all convenience stores in the city being owned by members of this very small minority community. This is illustrated by analysis of the ethnic background of owners of convenience stores in an Edinburgh postcode known to have a high concentration of such micro enterprises. Of the 40 convenience stores

listed in EH6 in 2000, eight have Asian names and visits to the area identify a further 14 as having South Asian owners, only two of whom are from the Indian community and a total of 20 being of Pakistani origin. The lack of available complete databases of business locations throughout the city limits full analysis of the extent of Pakistani convenience store ownership. However, personal observation of a wide range of locations, classified telephone directory listings, and Small Business Gateway and Chamber of Commerce data bases suggests a similar pattern exists in all areas.

Not all businesses are able to respond to the changing retail environment and a return visit to the area in June 2002 found that 4 of the above stores are now closed (2 Asian owned) and 3 have changed ownership (2 Asian to Asian and 1 mainstream to Indian).

### **Business environment awareness**

As Byrom et al. (2000) stress, the first stage in developing a strategy to face the challenge of change is to be aware of the changing business environment, competition and the need for relevant skills and resources to meet the particular challenge. Qualitative research involving 100 Pakistani owned convenience stores in Edinburgh by Bent et al. (1999) indicated that there was only very limited awareness of the changing retail environment.

Major competitors were seen to be supermarket multiples (e.g. Tesco, Safeway and Sainsbury) and larger convenience store chains (e.g. Scotmid and Alldays), with little acknowledgement of the competition presented by other local independent convenience stores.

While the advantages of such micro enterprises were seen as being close to the customers, over half of those interviewed had not noticed significant consumer trends. A further third only responded reactively when customer demands had changed, thus losing many regular customers to neighbouring alternative retail outlets adopting a more proactive business development strategy.

Although many businesses had expanded and diversified the range of products and services offered, less than half had invested in upgrading their property. There was little awareness of the availability of business advice and support and an expectation that resources provided for convenience store owners should take the form of grants as opposed to business training and financial advice.

### **Strategy development**

The qualitative, adaptive grounded theory research in progress within the Edinburgh Pakistani micro business community is examining features of successful convenience stores. Key themes emerging from the initial sample of ten businesses are business entry decisions, competitive strategies adopted and succession plans.

For first generation Pakistani convenience store owners in Edinburgh, the business entry decision was primarily driven by 'push' factors of the lack of alternative economic activity other than in low paid, low status employment. In addition, there were 'pull' factors of a desire for independence and to continue the improvement of family status, a process shaped by the initial motivation to migrate to the UK from the Indian sub-continent. Work in factories or the public sector and experience gained through employment in family micro retail enterprises provided the necessary finance, skills and contacts for business start-up. Access to particular business

opportunities was eased by the convenience store sector becoming a less attractive option for mainstream community economic activity and the limited financial commitment required before commencing trading.

As convenience store ownership expanded, local minority community networks provided both links with suppliers and business guidance, thus enabling the expanding community to establish businesses in all areas of the city. The size of the community, and this dispersed development of convenience store involvement, has resulted in a high level of integration with mainstream community customers and suppliers. In addition, many business owners live in the business catchment area and are involved in community activities such as education, neighbourhood watch and festive events. As a result, there is little perception or experience of racial tension and good working and personal relationships have developed throughout the city. This perception of a high degree of both economic and social embeddedness is illustrated when owners refer to the influence of the local, mainstream community on business activity as opposed to the influence of the South Asian community.

There is an acknowledgement that convenience stores cannot compete with larger stores and supermarkets on product range or price. Symbol group membership is seen as a way in which to reduced stock costs, obtain marketing material and special offers, and benefit from a brand image. However, the drawback of such an approach is that independence is reduced and membership costs are not seen as always being cost effective. The competitive strategy that emerges in successful businesses is to offer a wide range of top-up products and to adapt stock ranges rapidly to changing consumer demands. In addition, customer loyalty is encouraged by involvement in local community activities and events, offering friendly efficient service, and maintaining clean, tidy and modern premises.

While the above themes are common to varying degrees in all the successful convenience stores included in the research, differences emerge when considering future development strategies. Although there is still an underlying aim to improve family status, this is no longer seen as solely achievable through convenience store ownership. Education is increasingly seen as the way to maximise opportunities and, mirroring the move out of the sector by mainstream community that opened access to first generation immigrants to the city, higher status employment and the professions are seen as more desirable than low level retailing. However, micro enterprises are still seen as a way to maintain independence and adhere to the demands of cultural and traditional responsibilities to the extended family and religious observances and restraints regarding products (in particular the handling and sale of certain meats and alcohol) and finance.

Even in successful businesses there is a lack of use of business support and advice services. Banks are generally regarded as a means of conducting day-to-day financial transactions, although there is an increasing use of mainstream accountants rather than the initial reliance on family and community expertise.

In almost all cases, business experience continues to be gained by working with family members in similar micro enterprises and business skills learned by example.

It is acknowledged that this is a more appropriate way in which to gain both practical skills to enhance future, independent business activity and to identify potential difficulties and skill shortages. Good business practice can be imitated and unsuccessful strategies avoided as second generation business owners develop individual responses to particular retail environments.

### **Conclusion**

The convenience store sector in Edinburgh is facing increasing challenges. External factors of changing demographics, increased competition and changing consumer behaviour are similar to those facing the sector as a whole. The failure to respond to these changes will result in business closures and a resulting negative social and economic impact on the city. The potential negative impact on the South Asian minority community is greatly increased when considering the disproportionately high involvement of the very small community (0.8% of the population) in ownership of an estimated two thirds of the city's conveniences stores.

While good business practice calls for a planned business strategy including entry decision, competitive approach and succession planning, there is evidence from large minority communities that much South Asian business activity is shaped by available opportunities and resources. Smaller, more integrated communities increasingly adopt mainstream approaches to business as increased social and economic embeddedness reduces the need (real or perceived) to rely on co-ethnic resources, customers and suppliers. Continued involvement in low level retailing is influenced both by changing aspirations and motivations and the wider education and employment opportunities available to second and third generation minority communities.

There is evidence that not all convenience stores in Edinburgh are in a position to survive the challenges presented to the sector. The response by many is to make a reactive response to changing competition and consumer trends, thus losing customers to larger stores and supermarkets and local convenience stores that have developed appropriate successful strategies to meet the local and wider challenges emerging. This has resulted in the closure of many stores.

On a more positive note, there are also many examples of good business practice and successful strategy development among Pakistani community owned convenience stores throughout the city.

Initially, the opportunity structures and group characteristics identified in large minority communities did influence business entry and strategy development decisions. However, the increasing horizontal breakout and both social and economic embeddedness with the mainstream community as identified in smaller minority communities have combined to produce business practice similar to that of mainstream micro enterprises.

There is a comparative absence of racism, recession and general economic decline experienced by larger minority communities, and the wider employment options and changing perceptions of the desirability of low level retailing combine to result in second generation convenience store ownership involvement being a planned

succession. However, there is still a lack of awareness of, or perception of, the need for business advice and support, strategy developing on a trial and error basis as opposed to planned good business practice.

While no two businesses are identical due to the centrality of the owner, a wide variety of strategies are emerging to meet the challenge of local changes in the retail environment. The interaction of personal motivation, resource availability, local competition, and family, personal and business aims combine to produce business strategies defined as 'successful' by the individuals concerned. These approaches to business are increasingly similar to those of mainstream micro enterprises, although the influence of tradition and culture still impacts on the strategy adopted.

Although no one, definitive successful business strategy is adopted throughout the sector, three broad themes emerge when comparing issues of location, business entry decision, competitive approach and succession plans. Extremes of these strategies are illustrated in the cases presented in Table I and summarised as:

- Some businesses will fail but the family succeed in mainstream occupations (Case 1)
- Some businesses will survive and continue to support the extended generations of the family in the convenience store sector (Case 2)
- Some businesses will survive and access mainstream wider business opportunities (Case 3).

The outcome of failing to face the challenge of change may result in business closures and lead to a smaller convenience store sector in the city. However, many business owners are adopting appropriate and diverse strategies to facilitate future business success, both outwith, within and including micro retail enterprises. The resulting stronger convenience store sector will provide opportunities for individual businesses prepared and able to adapt to future changes in the retail environment, secure the economic future for the ethnic minority community and increase the social and economic benefits to the whole city population.

	<b>Case 1: Exit micro business ownership</b>	<b>Case 2: Extended family c-store business</b>	<b>Case 3: Build family business empire</b>
<b>Business entry decision</b>	Came to Edinburgh aged 14 to join father Left school age 16 and wanted to continue education and career in electronics Given shop as 'gift' by father and, as eldest son, had no option but to forgo education and enter c-store ownership	Migrated to Scotland age 16 to join uncle in Glasgow Worked with uncle and cousins in similar businesses before buying own premises Owned 3 stores at one time but sold 2 to concentrate on running 1 efficiently, not 3 badly	Involved in family business activity since age 11 C-store funded move into property rental business Local school and community involvement Opened own c-store on leaving school Sold business after 5 years and took over current premises from father
<b>Competitive approach</b>	Aware of increased local and wider competition Strategy of not competing on product range or price Offers basic products in modernised store and efficient service, including delivery of very small, low value orders to local pensioners Customer loyalty developed over 25 years	Business developed over 25 years from poor start Symbol group membership to improve price, promotional material and product range available Agent for cleaning, lottery, video hire, PayPoint, cash dispenser and short term credit facilities Good local community links maximise sales	Diversified away from c-store sector Business interests in construction, food importing and distribution, publishing, property rental, motor trade, finance and tanning studio Enterprises operated alone, with family members, co-ethnic partners and other associates
<b>Succession plans</b>	No business development as business aim to exit sector as soon as cultural and traditional obligations allow Determined that children do not enter c-store business but successfully encouraged to seek recognised qualifications and mainstream employment	Both sons educated to degree level Elder now increasingly involved in day-to-day running of business Gradual hand over of responsibility to allow father to retire Possibility of opening additional premises if younger son decides to join family business	Plans to close current business when lease expires but open c-store in perceived better location Younger son, age 10, already showing interest in business involvement Intention to continue to develop portfolio of business activities and build on family business empire started by father

**Table I: Extremes of business strategies emerging in Edinburgh Pakistani owned convenience stores**



## **References**

- Aldrich, H., Jones, T. and McEvoy, D. (1984) "Ethnic advantage and minority business development", ch 11 pp189-210 in Ward, R. and Jenkins, R. (eds) *Ethnic communities in business*; Cambridge University Press: Cambridge
- Bank of England (1999) *The financing of ethnic minority firms in the United Kingdom: a special report*; Bank of England: London
- Baron, S., Harris, K., Leaver, D. and Oldfield, B. (2001) "Beyond convenience: the future for independent food and grocery retailers in the UK", *International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research* 11 (4) pp 395 – 414
- Barrett, G., Jones, T. and McEvoy, D. (2001) "Socio-economic and policy dimensions of the mixed embeddedness of ethnic minority business in Britain", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27 (2) pp 241-258
- Barrett, G., Jones, T., McEvoy, D. and McGoldrick, C. (2002) "The economic embeddedness of immigrant enterprises in Britain", *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research* 8 (1/2) pp 11 – 31
- Basu, A. and Goswami, A. (1999) "South Asian entrepreneurship in Great Britain: factors influencing growth", *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research* 5(5) pp 251-275
- Bent, R., Seaman, C., Wallace, A. and Kerr, J. (1999) *Convenience stores and the ethnic retailer*; Conference paper: Networking conference 99 an ethnic perspective
- Bolton, J. (1971) *Small Firms. Report of the Committee of Inquiry on Small Firms*; HMSO: London
- Bridge, S., O'Neill, K. and Cromie, S. (1998) *Understanding enterprise, entrepreneurship & small business*; Macmillan Press: London
- Byrom, J., Harris, J. and Parker, C. (2000) "Training the independent retailer: an audit of training needs, materials and systems", *Journal of European Industrial Training* 24(7) pp366-373
- Deakins, D. (1999) *Entrepreneurship and Small Firms* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed); McGraw-Hill: London
- Deakins, D., Majmudar, M. and Paddison, A (1997) "Developing success strategies for ethnic minorities in business: evidence from Scotland", *new community* 23(3) pp325-342
- Dyer, L. and Ross, C. (2000) "Ethnic Enterprises and their Clientele", *Journal of Small Business Management* 38 (2) pp 48-66
- Fadahunsi, A., Smallbone, D. and Supri, S. (2000) "Networking and ethnic minority enterprise development: Insights from a North London study", *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development* 7 (3) pp 228-240
- Fox, M., Nilakant, V. and Hamilton, R. (1996) "Managing succession in family-owned businesses", *International Small Business Journal* 15(1) pp15-25
- Gidoomal, R. (1997) *the UK maharajahs*; Nicholas Brealey: London
- Goffee, R. (1996) "Understanding family businesses: issues for further research", *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research* 2(1) pp36-48
- Iyer, G. (1999) "The impact of religion and reputation in the organization of Indian merchant communities", *Journal of Business and Industrial Marketing* 14(2) pp 102-117
- Kirby, D. (1986) "The small retailer", ch 9 pp162-179 in Curran, J., Stanworth, J. and Watkins, D. (eds) *The survival of the small firm 1 – the economics of survival and entrepreneurship*; Gower: Aldershot

- Layder, D. (1993) *New strategies in social research*; Polity: Cambridge
- Layder, D. (1998) *Sociological Practice – linking theory and social research*; SAGE: London
- Macmillan, H. and Tampoe, M. (2000) *Strategic Management*; Oxford University Press: Oxford
- Perren, L. and Ram, M. (2001) *Case-study method in small business and entrepreneurial research: mapping boundaries and perspectives*; Paper presented at the 24<sup>th</sup> ISBA National Small Firms Conference, Leicester
- Ram, M. (1994) "Unravelling Social Networks in Ethnic Minority Firms", *International Small Business Journal* 12(3) pp42-53
- Ram, M. (1997) "Ethnic minority enterprise: an overview and research agenda", *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research* 3(4) pp 149-156
- Ram, M., Abbas, T., Sanghera, B. and Hillin, G. (2000) "'Currying favour with the locals': Balti owners and business enclaves", *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research* 6(1) pp41-55
- Ram, M. and Jones, T. (1998) *Ethnic Minorities in Business – a Small Business Research Trust Report*; HMSO: London
- Smith, A. and Sparks, L. (1997) *Retailing and Small Shops*; The Scottish Office Central Research Unit: Edinburgh
- Smith, A. and Sparks, L. (2000) "The role and function of the independent small shop: the situation in Scotland", *International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research* 10(2) pp205-226
- Storey, D. (1994) *Understanding the small business sector*; Routledge: London
- Waldinger, R., Aldrich, H. and Ward, R. (1990) *Ethnic Entrepreneurs*; SAGE: London

**Seaman, C., Bent, R., Ingram, A., Welsh, R. and Mederos, A. 2005. Fissures in the marketing strategies of South Asian restaurants in Edinburgh. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 29 (3) pp 193 – 199.**

#### **Abstract**

This exploratory study sought to investigate South Asian restaurants in Edinburgh, Scotland, UK in order to obtain a preliminary identification of marketing gaps compromising their future profitability. The aims of the study were to expose and understand the relative importance attached by owners and managers of South Asian restaurants in Edinburgh to the different elements of the marketing mix. South Asian restaurants form a small but important sector of the restaurant in market in towns throughout the UK and are characteristically of disproportionate financial and social importance to the communities who run them. South Asian restaurants in Edinburgh, as in most towns in the UK, are run primarily by the Bangladeshi community and are under increasing pressure as the variety of restaurants operating in the sector increases. The results of the study make evident that any initiatives taken to support South Asian restaurants should include awareness-raising actions. Building awareness, which is perceived to be currently partially understood, of the importance of studying markets, customers and competitors is essential before any advice is given on how to accomplish these monitoring tasks. Equally, a fundamental priority is to encourage self-critical and proactive approaches to business, thus increasing the capacity to identify possible problems and implement correcting measures.

Ingram, A., Pianu, E. and Welsh, R. 2007. Supporting dyslexic Scottish university students: positive actions for the future? *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 19 (7) pp 606 – 611.

### **Research in brief**

**Abstract** - This paper aims to explore the issues of dyslexia and the management of learning support within two Scottish suppliers of premier HE hospitality education: Napier and QMU universities of Edinburgh.

**Design/methodology/approach** – This exploratory, qualitative fieldwork outlines course managers', teachers' and disabilities support staff perceptions of dyslexia support. Students' views are noted, not interviewed. It describes the views of 12 of a sample of (8 female and 4 male) staff interviewees. Napier University and Queen Margaret University are post 1990 "new" universities; Napier has a larger student/staff population than QMU.

**Findings** – The emergent findings highlight the fact that managers, teachers and support staff operate under resources and largely *ad hoc* system of dyslexic support, although Napier, with greater central funding, shows signs of more strategic insight with the appointment of a full time dyslexia coordinator with strategic potential. Findings pinpoint the strengths (personal attention) of decentralised support with ambiguity problems and the need for a generic centrally coordinated support system capable of codifying *tacit experience* into customised support packages for hospitality students.

**Research limitations/implications** – This is a small exploratory study of the views and perceptions of dyslexia of course managers', hospitality teachers' and support staff from two of Edinburgh's new universities. Both have decades of internationally respected work in hospitality education and elsewhere in higher education.

**Practical implications** – The fieldwork draws attention to this situation and suggests ways to make concepts of dyslexia and disability more relevant to academic hospitality managers teaching in higher education and to those practicing in the field.

**Originality/Value** – This work examines the proposition that while dyslexia is a condition open to support and improvement, it is for many practitioners a vague concept. Perhaps this stems from a relative under funding of good practice emerging from universities and a lack of real funding and strategic attention by senior executives that places the burden of support on operational staff: teachers and course managers. What emerges from the interviews is that disability and what to do about it seems to be an attitude of mind, a question of perceptions, frames of references, intangible properties: that the essence of enhanced dyslexic support is how to do things better. Napier and QMU give valuable *ad hoc* examples here on which to design future practice. What is needed is a systematic approach to design, implementation and sustainability, and an understanding of the tacitly held knowledge that underpins experience generated systems of knowledge. Bringing out such tacit and explicit notions of the complexity of perceptions of knowledge lies in future studies.

**Keywords** – Dyslexia, Perceptions, Designs, Supports, Practicalities

**Paper type** - Research paper

**Abdullah, F., Ingram, A. and Welsh, R. 2009. Managers' Perceptions of Tacit Knowledge in Edinburgh's Indian Restaurants. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 21 (3).**

**Research in Brief**

**Abstract.** This paper explores tacit knowledge and managers' supervision styles in a sample of Edinburgh's Indian restaurants.

**Design/methodology/approach.** A qualitative fieldwork of managers' perceptions of their role in directing tasks, supervising operations and staff recruitment.

**Findings.** These describe tacit knowledge contexts derived from restaurant owner-managers directing operations.

**Research limitations/implications.** This is an exploratory study of views and perceptions of a small sample of ethnic managers. It asks questions of tacit knowledge within Scottish-based Indian restaurants, and attempts to place these within a cultural context of kinship networks.

**Practical implications.** The research questions how academic researchers may make nebulous concepts such as tacit knowledge accessible to practical hospitality managers, policy-makers, students and teachers.

**Originality/value.** Fieldwork findings describe the context to relationships in small ethnic hospitality businesses. Conceptual development emerges from deductions made from literature, fieldwork, shadowing, interviews, and by asking questions.